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## ABSTRACT

Background reading resource materials and teaching units for elementary and secondary teachers interested in teaching about peace and justice are presented in this resource manual. The units are designed to help students learn that nonviolent conflict resolution is possible and that war is not inevitable; realize that sharing our resources, helping the poor, and living more sparingly and responsibly is a matter of justice and not charity; and appreciate the differences in cultures around the world. Students view films, read books and journal articles, and are involved in role playing situations, library research, brainstorming, and classroom discussions. The manual contains an introductory essay which discusses goals of educating for peace and justice. The major portion of the publication consists of resource units on major issue areas including conflict, violence, and nonviolent conflict resolution; institutional violence; peace, justice, and law; racism; poverty in the United States; global poverty and development; the military and the individual; the realities of war; the meaning of peace and justice; and mutual education and today's peacemakers. Goals and relevance, content and suggestions for class activities and projects, and bibliographies of print and nonprint resources are provided for each issue. A list of helpful organizations is provided.  
(Author/RM)

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EDUCATING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE:

A MANUAL FOR TEACHERS

(Fifth Edition)

by

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and Luanne Schinzel

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
PREFACE . . . . .	1
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY . . . . .	3
PART I: PEACE AND JUSTICE IN A SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM	79
A. Peace, Conflict, and Nonviolence . . . . .	11
1. Peace Is Possible . . . . .	11
2. Conflict, Violence, and Nonviolent Conflict Resolution . . . . .	23
"Educating Children in Nonviolent Conflict Resolution" by Quaker Project on Community Conflict . . . . .	29
3. Special Focus: The United Farm Workers . . . . .	39
B. Institutional Violence . . . . .	43
1. Introduction . . . . .	45
2. Peace, Justice, and Law . . . . .	53
a. U.S. Legal System: Does It Promote Social Justice? . . . . .	53
b. Conflict Between Law and Morality: Civil Disobedience . . . . .	57
3. Institutional Violence and Specific Groups of People . . . . .	61
a. Racism . . . . .	61
b. Peace and Justice for Women . . . . .	73
c. Old People: A Forgotten Sector . . . . .	77
4. Economics and Institutional Violence . . . . .	81
a. Poverty . . . . .	81
b. Propaganda and Advertising . . . . .	87
c. Justice and Political Economy . . . . .	91



C. Global Awareness . . . . .	99
1. U.S. Foreign Policy: "Cold War" Attitude . . . . .	101
2. Global Poverty and Development . . . . .	109
3. World Hunger . . . . .	129
4. Global Interdependence (7-12) . . . . .	145
5. Multi-Cultural Education and Living . . . . .	153
6. Special Focus: Intercultural Understanding: The Peoples' Republic of China . . . . .	159
7. Special Focus: Black Studies . . . . .	161
8. Global Interdependence (K-6) . . . . .	165
D. The Military and War . . . . .	173
1. The Military and the Individual . . . . .	175
2. The Military-Industrial Complex . . . . .	185
"Corporate Social Reform: An Activist's Viewpoint" by Philip W. Moore . . . . .	197
"Defense Dependency of St. Louis" by Alan Schmidt and Julie Kerkisick . . . . .	203
3. The Realities of War . . . . .	219
4. The Causes of War . . . . .	223
5. Alternatives to War . . . . .	227
PART II: PEACE AND JUSTICE IN A RELIGION CURRICULUM . . . . .	233
A. The Call to Peace and Justice . . . . .	234
1. The Meaning of Peace and Justice . . . . .	235
"Catholic Church Teaching on Justice, 1967-1974" . . . . .	239
2. The Prophets--Old Testament and Today . . . . .	245
3. The Gospel of Jesus vs. The Gospel of the American Culture . . . . .	249
a. Contrast Between Gospel Values and Prevailing U.S. Values . . . . .	249
b. The American Value System . . . . .	252

4. Christian Patriotism . . . . .	255
B. The Christian and War . . . . .	259
1. Historical Development of Christian Attitudes Toward Peace and War . . . . .	261
2. Just-War Theory . . . . .	267
3. Nonviolence (Pacifism) . . . . .	271
"The History of Pacifism in the American Catholic Church" by Noel Barrett . . . . .	272
4. War and Military Service . . . . .	283
PART III: MUTUAL EDUCATION . . . . .	285
A. Introduction . . . . .	285
B. Institutional Violence in Schools . . . . .	287
C. Self Respect . . . . .	288
D. Mutual Respect . . . . .	290
E. Mutual Decision-Making . . . . .	293
F. Cooperation v. Competition . . . . .	295
"Manual on Cooperative and Noncooperative Games" by Theodore F. Lentz . . . . .	301
PART IV: LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE . . . . .	315
A. Today's Peacemakers . . . . .	317
B. Service: Students as Agents for Social Change . . . . .	323
"A Service Program in the School" by Erica Jordon . . . . .	333
C. Living Justice and Peace . . . . .	339
LIST OF HELPFUL AGENCIES . . . . .	347

## Preface to the Fifth Edition

It is with a great feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction that we bring you the fifth edition of this Manual. With each previous edition, we have tinkered and revised, responding to the helpful suggestions of a variety of users. This time, however, we have made some major changes, both in content and in style.

Regarding content, we have added two entirely new units -- WORLD HUNGER and SERVICE: STUDENTS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE. We have substantially revised a number of others, especially MUTUAL EDUCATION, THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, GLOBAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT, GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6 and 7-12. Many other units have been greatly improved. Several units or parts of units from previous editions have been consolidated in this edition, with the least helpful materials being omitted altogether.

Regarding style, we have altered the format to make it more attractive and less formidable and to keep pace with inflation by printing the same information on fewer pages. Since each section set in the new format has been retyped, these sections have also undergone considerable editing and refining, with updated data and resources.

### HOW TO USE THIS MANUAL

At first glance, the Manual is very imposing. It is tempting to put it on a bookshelf somewhere and let it be. We agree that this Manual is not for the faint of heart. It is not a slick collection of lesson plans designed for instant classroom use. Rather, it is a development of several themes and a number of issues within each theme. Each section contains background information for the teacher, strategies for presenting the information to students, ways of acting on the issue, and further resources.

1. One important revision in this fifth edition is an introductory essay in which we not only outline more clearly the whole of education for peace and justice, but also state more explicitly the values and goals underlying this Manual and our work as a whole. We elaborate more precisely our understanding of "peace" and "justice" in the unit entitled THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. Finally, we explicitly link other units or parts of units to this understanding. We recommend, then, careful reading of both the introductory essay and the content of the unit on THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE BEFORE launching into any particular unit. Additional copies of the introductory essay are available from our Institute at 25¢ a copy.

2. We have color-coded the Manual according to major issue areas. Several units coming under a common issue are printed on the same color paper. This is both to identify each issue better and to make the whole Manual seem less imposing.

3. For faculties, we recommend that the school purchase two copies of the Manual. Keep one intact in the library or teachers' lounge as a reference work. Divide the second copy according to the colors and put each colored section in a separate folder. After an initial faculty or departmental meeting on Education for Peace and Justice at which time the Manual is introduced to all, circulate the individual sections. This way, everyone becomes familiar with parts of the Manual simultaneously. To try to circulate the whole Manual is to insure that very few will become familiar with the Manual at all.

4. For all teachers, do not attempt to teach this whole book page by page. This Manual is more a resource book than a day-by-day lesson plan. We have included enough suggestions on many of the topics to require a whole course to get through any particular topic. Thus it is necessary for the individual teacher to select those methodological suggestions that seem most appropriate to her students.

We do not recommend trying to cover all the topics included here in any single course. Many teachers will want to incorporate only one or two of the units into already existing courses. Other teachers presenting a whole "Peace and Justice" elective should decide which of the topics they want to include and in what order.

5. For elementary teachers, we have included a number of teaching strategies within each topic area. There are also several separate units for primary and middle grade teachers. We sympathize that there are very few peace education materials designed for children and we have listed all the resources we know of.

### 1. In-service Education

We do not think it is a good idea for teachers just to be presented with this Manual and told to "teach peace." Most teachers do not have time to inaugurate for themselves the study, reflection, and action necessary to develop an ongoing program in education for peace and justice. Therefore, we strongly recommend teacher education programs in education in peace and justice.

The Institute for Education in Peace and Justice, which publishes this Manual, offers several such opportunities. In addition to our availability to conduct workshops in any part of the country for teacher groups (and others), we do a number of regularly scheduled programs:

- at least a one-week summer institute in St. Louis, usually in early June
- generally two three-week courses each summer at the Institute for Pastoral Studies, Loyola University, Chicago
- one or two courses offered through St. Louis and/or Chicago area colleges in fall or spring
- usually a one-week or two-week program on the West Coast each summer

We are glad to recommend other in-service programs depending on your location and needs.

### 2. Internships

The Institute for Education for Peace and Justice does offer semester-long and year-long internships for persons who intend to be more active in justice and peace/social concerns/education activities. Write us for details.

### 3. Strategy Guide

An important complementary resource to the whole Manual is our December 1975 publication, A Strategy Guide for Schools and School Systems in Education for Peace and Justice. Although primarily designed for Catholic schools and school systems, almost all of it is equally relevant for public and other religious schools. Part I focuses on the basic components of any effective strategy, with Part II offering variations developed by different systems or groups. Part III presents three different evaluation tools for schools and systems in education for peace and justice. Part IV discusses four good starting points in education for peace and justice for whole faculties. Especially valuable for individual teachers, as well as whole faculties and school systems, are the evaluation instruments of Part III. The book is 108 pages and sells for \$3.00, plus mailing.

### 4. Monthly Teachers Newsletter

Ten times a year, we publish a two-page or four-page newsletter in which we review carefully a number of education for peace and justice materials, suggest teaching strategies, and/or point out issues of concern for our lives as educators. As such, the newsletter serves as a continual update of the Manual. We ask for a minimum donation of \$2.00 a year for the newsletter.

### 5. Other Services

The Institute has developed a number of curriculum materials which are described in appropriate sections of the Manual. See also the enclosed green flyer. We also offer workshops on the issues, on strategies and methodology, and on life-style. These workshops are listed in the enclosed gold flyer. We also maintain a curriculum library in St. Louis and members are available for consultation with schools and individual teachers.

**Special Note:** Sources of Our Income -- Our Institute depends entirely on workshop course fees, sale of our materials, and small donations for our survival. We have no outside sources of funding. It is a great credit to teachers' concern about justice and peace that we survive. Thus, please use our services.

"EDUCATION for PEACE and JUSTICE: AN OVERVIEW"

I. INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Education for peace and justice, or peace education is both a "what" and a "how." That in teaching peace involves the communication of a distinct content in distinct ways. Thus, peace education can be broadly defined as, first, the inquiry into the obstacles to peace or causes of peacelessness; and secondly, the development of the knowledge, values and skills essential for the building of peace. Such a working definition has two major implications.

First, peace is understood here in a positive sense. It means, first, developing alternatives to violence as a means of resolving human conflicts. But peace is more than the absence of war or overt violence. Peace is also the realization of justice.<sup>1</sup> Working for peace is working for the kinds of relationships among persons and groups (of whatever size) and for the kinds of institutions (political, economic, social, educational) that promote the well-being or development of all persons. Such well-being includes, first, basic human necessities like food, clothing, shelter, and skills development. Further, well-being development necessitates the growth of persons in dignity, and in solidarity and service with their fellow human beings.

Restricting peace education to the stopping of war and overt violence provides tighter boundaries for what could otherwise seem to be an all-embracing discipline--too broad to be effectively considered or implemented. Nevertheless, while acknowledging this danger of lumping a lot under peace education, it seems imperative not to rob peace of its justice components. "If you want peace," proclaimed Pope Paul VI, "work for justice." Thus, peace education must inquire into structural or institutional violence or injustices embodied in the very rules or structures of economic, political, social or educational institutions--and help students strategize about alternatives to such violence.

The second major implication of the working definition of peace education is that peace education involves methodology and life-style as well as content. In order to communicate effectively the values and skills necessary for the building of peace, these values and skills must be experienced in the process. The medium is the message. The methodology must be consistent with the values of peace, justice, cooperation and nonviolence around which the content revolves. Peace is not simply a concept to be taught but a reality to be lived. Thus, the life-style as well as the teaching style, of the peace educator must reflect her subject-matter. Otherwise her words fall flat and peace remains an abstract ideal, incapable of being lived in the "real world." Each of these three components of peace education need to be elaborated. In the following elaboration, 12 basic goals (concepts, attitudes, skills, or principles) will be identified as crucial to any implementation of education for peace and justice.

II. BASIC COMPONENTS

A. Content Area #1: Violence, War and Alternatives

While we recognize that people have different needs and interests and that the best place to start with first-graders is probably not the best place to start with 12th-graders, a good place to begin education for peace and justice is with conflict and the possibilities of nonviolent conflict resolution. Starting here not only provides an overview and a sense of the whole, but it also takes the students where they are. They have experienced conflict in their lives and thus can approach the possibilities of nonviolent conflict resolution with some experiential base.

Moreover, nonviolent conflict resolution, at least as it was understood and practiced by a person like Gandhi, develops the description of peace offered above. In the same positive vein, Gandhi viewed peace as a creative process of dealing with conflict in such a way that "victory" does not mean one side winning and the other side losing. Instead, the victory is over the situation and both sides can win. That is, Gandhi's method of nonviolent conflict resolution means that the legitimate human needs of all sides are incorporated into a solution that is broader (more "truth-ful") than the needs of either party at the beginning.



4

Goal #1: To help students learn that nonviolent conflict resolution is possible and to help students develop the skills involved.

Extending conflict and conflict resolution to the international level, education for peace and justice moves into a search for the causes of war and for alternatives to war. The causes of war include dimensions of the other three content areas -- poverty, exploitation, and nationalism. In addition, the military establishment and the arms race should be examined. The question of whether war is inevitable because human nature is instinctively aggressive (violent) moves peace education into a search for alternatives to war. These alternatives include unilateral peace initiatives, arms control and disarmament, the United Nations, world law, non-governmental transnational networks, nonviolent direct action, and non-exploitative economics. A further dimension of such alternatives involves individuals themselves and the question of conscience: what are my moral responsibilities as a person and a citizen vis-a-vis war (military service, taxes, amnesty, etc.).

Goal #2: To help students learn that war is not inevitable, that it is an institution created and used by people as one means of resolving conflict, and that war will become an obsolete institution when people and governments become aware of and committed to the use of alternative ways to resolve their conflicts.

To help students find some tools to work effectively to reduce the level of organized violence by nations and political groups to the point where war will cease to exist as a social institution.

#### B. Content Area #2: Institutional Violence and Alternatives

Since an examination of conflict resolution often focuses much more on overt violence than on institutional violence, it is important to introduce this latter concept as soon as possible, so as not to distort the reality, extent, and types of peacelessness in the world. There are many institutions or systems--penal systems, welfare systems, legal systems, corporations, athletics, health care systems, educational systems--that in their structures and rules do violence to peoples. That is, they physically or psychologically impair or destroy what is essential to the human person. There are many "isms" that are often products of those and other systems that are examples of institutional violence--racism, sexism, imperialism, neo-colonialism (trade and investment patterns), and agism.

A failure to understand these and other forms of institutional violence leads to a gross misunderstanding of violence itself. "Violence in the streets" is really a matter of counter-violence--largely a reaction to the much more subtle and destructive violence that we term institutional violence. Understanding the spiral of violence (that is, institutional violence → counter-violence → repression) is essential if we are to avoid "blaming the victims." In a teaching unit on violence, an examination of racism, for instance, is more crucial than an examination of race riots (counter-violence).

Goal #3: To help students understand the spiral of violence and the much greater evil of institutional violence; to help them see that institutions must be changed and how they might participate in changing them.

#### C. Content Area #3: Global Awareness

Once the students have come to grips with some of the institutional violence in their own society (e.g., racism), they are more prepared to deal with the global situation. "Global Awareness" focuses, first, on the meaning of "development" in human rather than in economic terms, and helps students look at their own society and lives as well as at the Third World. After examining the realities of global poverty, "Global Awareness" should discuss the causes of poverty and powerlessness, and in particular the exploitation or violence built into the economic relationship between the rich and poor countries of the world.

The second major focus of "Global Awareness" should be global interdependence. We must examine the factual interdependence of the world, and how we live out this interdependence (how to live as global citizens or Christians). Global or multicultural education is an essential ingredient here for several reasons. Presenting the cultures of the world in their richness, emphasizing the values and contributions of these peoples to the human family is an important corrective to the negative images of "poor" people. Interdependence implies learning from one another. Moreover, generating concern in students necessitates their perceiving the humanity of those about whom they are to be concerned.

Goal #4: To help students see "underdevelopment" as more a matter of relative powerlessness to develop than mere lacking goods; and, as a corollary, to see that development or justice means a redistribution of power, so that the powerless can participate in shaping their own destinies.

Goal #5: To help students and teachers perceive that interdependence needs to be lived at all levels, from interdependence in the classroom (see Goal #9) to interdependence in the globe; and to help students find ways of living as interdependent beings.

Goal #6: To help students realize that sharing our resources, helping the poor, living more sparingly and responsibly is a matter of justice and not charity. That is, we don't share only if there is a surplus; and sharing is not an option but a duty--it is not above and beyond the call of duty.

Goal #7: To help students appreciate the differences in cultures around the world and to learn from different cultures/peoples.

See Goal #11 on "patriotism"

#### D. Content Area #4: Alternative World Futures

Examining global interdependence implies that we are beginning to think about the future, about alternatives, and about building a more just and peaceful world. "Alternative World Futures" stresses the importance of breaking out of a situation in which we are always reacting to present crises and allowing what little thinking we do about the future to be determined by the present realities of the world. Future envisioning unlocks the present... It helps us see the kind of world we want to strive for and gives us a framework for critically examining our present actions. Finally, future envisioning should help us think creatively about the transition, that is, about how we get from here to there.

Most students, as most adults, do not see their lives making any difference in shaping the world. The world and its major institutions or systems are too complex and large to change. Such defeatism tends to paralyze. There is nothing one can do. Students must experience some success in changing an institution if we are to unlock their energies for social change. The school is the one institution with which they are most familiar. Try sharing responsibility with them for what is taught, for evaluation of students, for setting limits and consequences for behavior in the school. Try challenging them to envision a better school and to take first steps toward building that better school.

Goal #8: To provide opportunities for students to generate alternatives and to envision situations they would prefer; to provide the students with information about other people who have alternative visions of society and who are successful change agents; and to enable students to participate in improving their school institution and their local community, as part of their learning envisioning and strategizing skills geared to alternative world futures.

6.  
E. Methodology: Mutual, Experiential, Normative

The second basic component of peace education is the educational process itself. Such methodology ought to be mutual or cooperative, experiential, and value-centered or normative. First, if peace involves participation and the building of cooperative structures, then these must be experienced in the classroom and school itself.<sup>3</sup> A process whereby both the teacher's wants and the students' wants are incorporated into decisions needs to be established. Mutual decision-making, using the insights and skills gained in nonviolent conflict resolution, can extend to what is to be learned, to how the student's performance is evaluated, to discipline, and to decisions about time and space in the classroom. The development of cooperative rather than competitive ways of learning, relating, and playing is a giant step toward the realization and experience of community in the school.

Goal #9: To help students recognize their interdependence, practice building one another up rather than tearing one another down, and maximize cooperation in the school rather than competition.

Secondly, Education for Peace and Justice must be experiential. Teachers and students of all ages must actively seek justice and peace, as well as understand them better, if they are to learn peace. One part of their experience is in the classroom and Goals #8 and #9 suggest some forms this experience can take. But just as most of the content of Education for Peace and Justice deals with situations that are larger than the school, so too our experiences and actions must be larger than the school alone can provide. Older students should certainly participate in some kind of field work or service. But even primary children can "trick or treat" for UNICEF, collect recyclable materials, visit the elderly, write letters on peace/justice issues, and campaign for local fire service and school improvement or for stop signs and traffic lights. These experiences teach students that they do have power to affect institutions. They can also provide opportunities for testing possible solutions to larger problems or possible alternative structures, opportunities for insight into the causes of the many forms of peacelessness, and opportunities for developing effective transitional strategies.<sup>4</sup>

Goal #10: To help students find ways of working for justice and peace-- for the teacher, it is important that whenever we tell the students that they ought to do something, we can at the same time help them see how they can.

Thirdly, the methodology of Education for Peace and Justice is normative. Education for Peace and Justice promotes the values of peace and justice. Thus, it is clearly value education. The values or norms of peace and justice are the measure by which solutions to global or national crises are judged. These norms are found in most major religious writings and in the recent works of Thoreau, Gandhi, Frankl, King, and many others. The norms of peace and justice provide a base from which students and teachers can criticize and evaluate popular political ideologies, economic systems, and foreign and domestic policy options, as well as the alternatives the students themselves generate. For instance, what are the alternatives to poverty in Latin America, the peace educator might ask. Answers ranging from foreign aid and restructuring global economic relationships to socialism or violence need to be explored, working out the implications and consequences of each alternative and evaluating the extent to which each promotes the realization of peace and justice.

Goal #11: To help students develop their own value systems within the context of global injustice, where the teacher is a model who seeks peace and justice and who recognizes and helps students see the value base of education for peace and justice, and so makes it possible for them to choose peace and justice as part of their value system.

But in advocating critical thinking, such as described above, sometimes about the behavior of one's own country, education for peace and justice may be accused of being unpatriotic. But this is false. First, Education for Peace and Justice in the United States does not place all the blame for the world's injustices and evils on the shoulders of the United States. Yet, the United States peace educator is especially interested in how the United States relates to the peace and peacelessness in the world, because she has a special responsibility, as do her students, as United States citizens, for what is done in their name by their government.



7

Secondly, Education for Peace and Justice is not unpatriotic, because love of one's country does not mean blindness to its faults. In fact, it is precisely love of one's country that can drive a person to work to make the practice of her country more consistent with its ideals. Devotion to the ideals of one's country often demands constructive criticism and always demands effort to make these ideals real. Nevertheless, while such a view of patriotism is an important part of Education for Peace and Justice, a more long-range goal of Education for Peace and Justice is working for a world community in which nation-states are no longer necessary.

Goal #12: To help students understand and live a concept of patriotism as devotion to the ideals of one's country and as compatible with our more ultimate loyalty to the entire human family.<sup>5</sup>

#### F. Living Justice and Peace

An emphasis on the life-style implications of Education for Peace and Justice is based, first, on the assumption that Education for Peace and Justice is undermined unless the peace educator is (struggling to be) a living witness to the values of peace and justice; and, secondly, on the realization that there are few models in society of such a way of life. Specifically, we need to explore further the possibilities of building community or cooperative structures in our lives. We need to examine the possibilities of responsible consumption and simplicity in a consumer-oriented society. Further, we need to ask what are the possibilities of our involvement in political action--in social change struggles and with an emphasis on legislative action. In the same vein, we need to ask what does "responsible or interdependent living" mean with regard to buying, paying taxes, investing, banking, and other uses of money.

Finally, what are the possibilities of service in our lives? It is important that service be understood as the "works of justice" as well as the "works of mercy." Collecting food for the hungry in one's neighborhood (mercy) should be accompanied by action (writing or visiting one's legislators) to improve, for instance, the food stamp program or other programs providing the means for all to eat in one's state (justice). Working for penal reform (justice) goes hand-in-hand with visiting prisoners (mercy).

In stressing such life-style considerations, peace education is helping to develop not only the essential values in peace but some vital skills as well-- conflict resolution skills, political skills, interpersonal skills, envisioning and strategizing skills, leadership skills.

As a further dimension of the life-style question, if peace education is to realize itself to the fullest in a school, the school itself should be a witness to these same values. Thus, beyond the establishment of mutual decision-making processes among administrators, faculty and students, the school is challenged to witness to simplicity, responsible use of its resources, responsible hiring and contracting policies, sharing its resources in service to the broader community.

Goal #13: To help students, teachers and the school itself integrate the study of peace with the making and living of peace.

Goal #14: To help students understand and live Christian hope; that is, to help them realize that Jesus called us to "hunger and thirst" for justice--a lifetime commitment in which "success" often involves the "cross."

## Footnotes

1. To speak of justice in traditional terms--"giving each person her due"-- necessitates asking what is it that is due to the human person. This is the same question as what are the basic human rights. These basic rights include, first, the basic necessities without which human life cannot exist: food, shelter, clothing, medical care, some kind of skills development (education). In our day, the right to eat is being affirmed as second only to the right to life itself. The 1974 Synodal document on Evangelization placed "socio-economic rights" third, behind the right to life and the right to eat. These socio-economic rights address the "massive disparities of power and wealth in the world" and speak of the rights of individuals and nations to adequate employment, to some share in economic power, to adequate levels of consumption. The fourth category--"politico-cultural rights"--states clearly that all persons are due "an effective role in shaping their own destinies" and thus "have a right to free access to information, freedom of speech and press, as well as freedom of dissent." Finally, the document identifies "the right of religious liberty." Most of these rights are summarized in the 1971 Synodal document, Justice in the World, as "the right of development."
2. Here is the same understanding of justice as a sharing of power, so that all individuals can participate in the shaping of their own destiny. This is the same vision as Pope Paul VI expressed eloquently in On the Development of Peoples.
3. To Teach as Jesus Did, #23: "Community is at the heart of Christian education not simply as a concept to be taught but a reality to be lived. Through education, people must be moved to build community in all areas of life; they can do this best if they have learned the meaning of community by experiencing it."
4. This emphasis on action and skills development is central in To Teach as Jesus Did, #109: "Since the Gospel spirit is one of peace, brotherhood/sisterhood, love, patience and respect for others, a school rooted in these principles ought to explore ways to deepen its students' concern for and skill in peacemaking and the achievement of justice. Here young people can learn together of human needs, whether in the parish, the neighborhood, the local civic community, or the world, and begin to respond to the obligation of Christian service through joint action." (italics mine)
5. Pope Paul VI's vision of "universal solidarity" and the "human family", so strikingly asserted throughout On the Development of Peoples, echoed the message of Vatican II and has been re-echoed again and again. In The Church in the Modern World, the Bishops proclaimed that "Citizens should develop a generous and loyal devotion to their country, but without any narrowing of mind. In other words, they must always look simultaneously to the welfare of the whole human family, which is tied together by the manifold bonds linking races, peoples and nations." The U.S. Bishops, in their pastoral letter of 1968, Human Life in Our Day, built on Vatican II when they asserted that "Therefore, political leaders should . . . extend their thoughts and their spirit beyond the confines of their own nation, put aside national selfishness and ambition to dominate other nations, and nourish a profound reverence for the whole of humanity, which is already making its way collaboriously toward greater unity" (n. 82)."
6. The works of justice are given equal importance as the works of mercy in the drafts of the National Catechetical Directory.

PART I

PEACE AND JUSTICE IN A SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

A. PEACE, CONFLICT, AND NONVIOLENCE

1. PEACE IS POSSIBLE

2. CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT  
CONFLICT RESOLUTION

3. SPECIAL FOCUS: NONVIOLENCE AND THE  
UNITED FARM WORKERS

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

To help students perceive the different types of conflict they are in and to see the relationships among these and larger-scale conflicts; such a "macro-analytic" perspective recognizes the linkages between these levels of conflict and that ideas and strategies originating on one level can be applied to the other levels.

To help students see that conflict is neither good nor bad in itself, and to grasp the difference between functional and disfunctional conflict.

To help students develop the skills to analyze conflict, as a preliminary step to the next goal.

Most importantly, to help students realize that there are other responses to conflict besides violence and avoidance, and specifically to explore the possibilities of nonviolent conflict resolution.

To acquaint students with positive examples of successful nonviolent conflict resolution.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

### A. Conflict

#### 1. Various definitions of conflict

a. Lewis Coser: "...a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals."

b. John Dewey: "Conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates to invention. It shocks us out of the sheep-like passivity, and sets us at noting and contriving.... Conflict is a sine qua non of reflection and ingenuity."

c. Laura Nader: "The study of conflict may be further clarified if conflict is not equated with aggressive behavior, since it is not a type of behavior but, rather, a situation resulting from incompatible interests and values."

d. Martin Luther King: "So the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation."

#### 2. Types of Conflict

##### a. Types:

intra-personal conflicts--conflicts of goals within a person

inter-personal conflicts--conflicts of interests, values, goals, whatever, between two persons; family conflicts

inter-group conflicts--conflicts among groups over values, goals, interests,

whatever.

displaced conflicts--conflicts in a different situation, with different persons, or even conflicts remembered from the past which the person carries over to the present situation.

##### b. Levels of inter-group conflict

community conflicts--see role play situations enclosed at the end of this unit.

societal conflicts--see units on INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE, RACISM, POVERTY, SEXISM, GLOBAL AWARENESS ("Internal obstacles to Development," especially the "Reds and Greens" role-play) pp. 125-26.

international conflicts--see units on WAR, GLOBAL AWARENESS.

##### c. Means vs. Ends conflicts

In some cases there is agreement of the parties in conflict as to their basic goals or values but disagreement about how to get there. It is important in any conflict situation to find out whether the conflict is really about values or goals since it is much more difficult to resolve such conflicts.

If, in a conflict situation, you come to realize that you and your adversary actually share the same values or goals, this is quite liberating and a resolution to the conflict becomes much easier.

#### 3. Functional vs. Dysfunctional Conflict

a. It is very important for students to realize that conflict may be quite necessary in a variety of situations in order to bring about the kind of society they want, and that all growth proceeds from conflict in some way, even the growth of ideas, as Dewey's definition states.

b. Martin Luther King's Letter from a Birmingham City Jail is an excellent short document from which to explore this notion of functional conflict. One excerpt should move you to read and work with the whole letters.

"Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured."

##### c. Criteria for distinguishing functional from dysfunctional conflict

One set of criteria is the value set involved in the definition of peace offered in the introduction to this book. It emphasizes that conflict which leads in the direction of relationships and institutions that increase the well-being of persons (sufficiency of goods for a human exist-

ence, dignity/esteem, and greater participation in the decisions that affect one's life) is functional.

a second set of criteria is the four values around which the "world order" work of the Institute for World Order revolves. This value set includes

- (1) reduction of organized violence (war)
- (2) economic welfare (greater equality)
- (3) social justice (basic human rights and dignity) and
- (4) ecological balance.

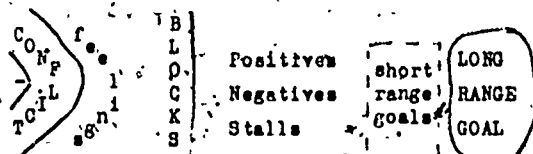
other sets of criteria generally include moving toward more equal power relationships, that is, functional if it makes the conflicting parties more equal in their power. See the Special Focus on the United Farm Workers at the end of this unit.

Have students generate a list of conflict situations and use those criteria to test if the conflicts are functional. What sorts of conflicts are dysfunctional?

4. Framework for analyzing conflicts--the basic questions that should be asked when analyzing a conflict:

Who are the parties; what are the conflicting values or interests? What are the signs that there is a conflict? What power does each party have? What can each do with the power it has? What are the alternatives to avoidance and violence in the conflict? What are the first steps in working out the non-violent alternative(s)? What are the obstacles, limitations, to these first steps? How can these obstacles, limitations, be overcome?

Another means of analyzing conflict, developed by the Movement for a New Society, looks like this:



1. What was happening?
2. Was the conflict surfaced?
3. What were my feelings?
4. What were others' feelings?
5. What was my behavior?
6. What was others' behavior?
7. What were my goals?
8. What were the blocks to those goals?
9. What were the negative and positive occurrences? Stalls?

Start by answering the questions or by filling in the chart. Remember that feelings are critical information when you are trying to surface a conflict.

To identify where the conflict is, try to limit and narrow the description of the situation. Focus on the situation and bring back anyone who wanders to other subjects.

## B. Conflict Resolution

### 1. Different responses to conflict

a. Avoidance--running away from the conflict, pretending it doesn't exist, not wanting to stir up trouble.

b. Coercion, force, violence--imposing one's position on another against the other's will; threatening such undesirable consequences that the other gives in, but still against her will.

c. Problem-solving or nonviolence (consensus, integrative decision-making)--finding third positions which incorporate the concerns and needs of both parties, positions to which both parties can agree.

d. Compromise--it is important that people realize the difference between "c" and "d", for "c" does not mean that one side gives in; rather, the needs of both sides are incorporated into a solution which is larger than either side at the beginning of the conflict. Compromise means one side foregoes something it still believes in.

2. Value-clarification, to get the students to confront their own gut-level responses to conflict, to see which of the four categories they generally fall into.

a. Through a list of aphorisms, to which they would react:

"Soft words win hard hearts."  
"Come now and let us reason together."  
"It is easier to refrain than to retreat from a quarrel."

"Better half a loaf than no bread at all."  
"If you cannot make a man think as you do, make him do as you think."  
"Don't stir up a hornet's nest."  
"Might makes right."  
"By digging and digging, the truth is discovered."

Have the students identify which of the aphorisms they most agree with. Then have the class label each of them in terms of the four possible responses suggested above. Have them talk about whether they want to react to conflict the way they seem to prefer.

b. Even better, through a series of role-plays

(1) Have the class start with large group simulations, since they are less on the spot when everyone is involved in the situation. See the groups role-plays at the end of this unit, as well as "Reds and Greens" (see pp. 25-26), Star-Power, and others mentioned there also. Also "Spaceship Earth", pp. 46-47. Debrief the roleplays in a way that focuses on the students' reactions in the conflict situation. What were their responses and did they like their responses?

(2) Use inter-personal conflicts in which the students themselves have been involved--volunteered by the students or conflicts the teacher has observed in the past week or so. Students might be asked to keep a log for a week or so, listing



all the conflicts--intrapersonal as well as interpersonal and inter-group--they have been involved in. Have students role-play these conflicts in such a way that the student who suggested the situation gets the chance to resolve it in a "problem-solving" or "nonviolent" way. Have the other students suggest other possibilities for that situation after the original student has finished, and then have those suggestions role-played themselves.

(3) See "PEACE IS POSSIBLE" for more value clarification ideas.

### •3. Violence as a Response to Conflict

a. It is important to realize that the question of violence is a difficult one to treat, and that it cannot be treated in "black and white" terms. Violence as a necessary means of fighting massive institutional violence, whether in a Third World context or a "Third World" situation in our own country, is a troubling issue. See the unit on INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE, especially the introductory paragraphs of the essay by James McGinnis on "Institutional Violence". Below are excerpts from the writings of Gandhi, Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon on the subject of violence as a legitimate response to injustice.

#### b. Gandhi

While Gandhi never really justified violence, he recognized it as the lesser of two evils in situations where the only other alternative was avoidance or cowardice.

"I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence... But I believe that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment." (Young India, August 11, 1920).

#### \* Malcolm X

"I'm not for wanton violence, I'm for justice. I feel that if white people were attacked by Negroes--if the forces of law prove unable or inadequate or reluctant to protect those whites from those Negroes--then those white people should protect and defend themselves from those Negroes, using arms if necessary. And I feel that when the law fails to protect Negroes from whites' attack, then those Negroes should use arms, if necessary, to defend themselves."

"I am for violence if nonviolence means we continue postponing a solution to the American black man's problem--just to avoid violence. I don't go for nonviolence if it also means a delayed solution. To me a delayed solution is a non-solution."

"Let sincere whites go and teach non-violence to white people!"

--all from The Autobiography of Malcolm X

Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth--Fanon was a participant/observer/reflector on the Algerian revolution and spokesper-

son for many Third World peoples.

"But it so happens that for the colonized people this violence, because it constitutes their only work, invests their characters with positive and creative qualities. The practice of violence binds them together as a whole; since each individual forms a violent link in the great chain, a part of the great organism of violence which has surged upward in reaction to the settler's violence in the beginning. The groups recognize each other and the future nation is already indivisible. The armed struggle mobilizes the people; that is to say, it throws them in one way and in one direction."

"At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.... When the people have taken violent part in the national liberation they will allow no one to set themselves up as 'liberators.' They show themselves to be jealous of the results of their action and take good care not to place their future, their destiny, or the fate of their country in the hands of a living god."

c. Reflections on the inadequacy/bankruptcy of violence.

See the Special Focus on the United Farm Workers at the end of this unit.

Read the essay/script on "Institutional Violence", especially on the "spiral of violence and 'violence #3' (repression), p. 49.

### •4 Nonviolent Conflict Resolution

a. Gandhian vs. other forms of non-violent conflict resolution.

Although many people interpret Gandhi differently, it seems clear to me that coercion--acting in such a way that the other party is "forced" in some way to act contrary to his convictions or "real will"--is excluded from his ideal at least. Other varieties of nonviolence do not exclude non-physical or psychological coercion, such as an economic aimed primarily at hurting an opponent so severely that he is forced to change his behavior, but without changing his values or attitude.

b. Basic theory of Gandhian nonviolence --see Part II, THE MEANING OF PEACE, pp. 236.

#### c. Skills and Practice

(1) Outline of the communication skills (see Part III, MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 290ff).

(2) Problem-solving skills (see books like Marshall Rosenberg's workbook for mutual education for more detail; see also the enclosed descriptions of programs dealing with the Quaker approach to nonviolent conflict resolution, for elementary as well as secondary students.

(a) Establishing ground rules--it is important for all parties to understand the procedures to be followed. Agenda-setting is a key event and all parties should be

in on it, no matter what the situation. It is important that these ground rules be mutually agreed upon.

(b) Clarifying the conflict and redefining the focus from the persons to the problem. It is important to know whether the conflict is about basic values or goals or just about the means to achieve those goals. It is important, further, to avoid the "ad hominem" approach that focuses on the other person(s) as the problem, rather than the situation. Both sides need to feel that the other is not out to eliminate her--she isn't the problem, but only something she does perhaps.

(c) Generating alternatives. In order to be better able to come with creative solutions, it is necessary for both parties to see the other's position and needs. Thus, some role-reversals are helpful, where each side "plays" the other.

(d) Self-criticism/evaluation. It is essential that the parties be able to acknowledge the weaknesses of their positions, once those come to light. The goal is "The truth", not "my truth"--the common good. Offices, workplaces, classrooms, homes, etc., where the members examine honestly what has been happening on a regular basis and making changes are places where nonviolent conflict resolution is more likely. Evaluation is absolutely essential, no matter where we operate.

(e) Creative strategizing on steps toward the resolution. Here, all the emphasis on "futuring" and "strategizing" that are suggested throughout this book becomes important.

### (3). Practice

(a) Students should bring up conflict situations they are in, perhaps drawn from the log suggested earlier, and what their responses are or have been. Start role-plays with these inter-personal conflict situations and have the students try to work them out in a nonviolent way.

(b) Move to some small group conflicts for role-plays. These could be situations the students suggest or ones the teacher has prepared. On both this level and the inter-personal level, the teacher might use pictures from magazines, articles from newspapers, or opening statements (see "Fighting Fair" in unit on PEACE IS POSSIBLE, pp. 18) of what could become very conflictual situations. Again try to work out in practice the nonviolent possibilities for conflict resolution.

d. Analysis of conflicts on a larger level, for the possibilities of nonviolent conflict resolution.

(1) Case studies of successful or partially successful nonviolent conflict resolution:

Gandhi's campaigns. A good short analysis of five of Gandhi's major campaigns, plus a more general analysis of the steps in Gandhi's whole philosophy/method of satyagraha, is contained in Joan Bondurant,

--The Conquest of Violence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969 edition).

United Farm Workers. See the Special Focus at the end of this unit, and the Bibliography enclosed.

Nonviolent national defense. See Adam Roberts, Civilian Resistance as a National Defense, for examples of non-violence on the international level.

Hundreds of nonviolent strategies. The writings of persons like George Lakey, Strategy for a Living Revolution (Freeman Press, 1973), and Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, contain literally hundreds of case studies in nonviolent tactics.

(2) Have students and teachers try to answer these questions:

How successful were these tactics or campaigns?

Why were they successful?

How unsuccessful were they?

Why were they not totally successful?

What else seems to have been needed for a completely successful campaign?

(3) Examine current struggles for peace and justice

It is important for students to see nonviolence in action, as it were, and to participate, at least in creatively thinking about, current struggles. The United Farm Workers is an excellent one, since they can actually participate in nonviolent action themselves, if they decide to join in some way.

e. First steps for students and teachers to put nonviolent conflict resolution into practice. See the mutual decision-making emphasis in Part III, MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 293ff.

### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See unit on PEACE IS POSSIBLE, especially pp. 19-22.

Education for a Global Society (Center for War/Peace Studies), teaching units: --"So You Want to Teach About Conflict?" "Teaching About Conflict in U.S. History Courses" (elementary and secondary)

Also from the Center for War/Peace Studies are 4 other items:

a. Patterns of Human Conflict--a multi-media package including 3 filmstrips, student readings, and role cards, presenting conflict as a natural and frequently useful part of life, that it can be avoided, but often with harmful effects, and that it can be resolved without violence. The filmstrips explore conflict at all levels, presenting 3 episodes: a teenager's struggle with drugs, nonviolence vs. violence in the civil rights movement,

and conflict over ocean fishing rights. It also sets up a contemporary community conflict for students to resolve through role-playing. Complete teachers' guide. Grades 9-12. \$124. 30-day examination available from Schloat Productions, Inc., 150 White Plains Rd., Tarrytown, NY 10591.

b. Intercom #75--Simulations and the Global Perspectives.

c. Intercom #76--Conflict and Changes: Themes for Teaching U.S. History. Provides ways the concept of conflict could be used to analyze aspects traditionally covered in American history classes, designed as a companion to tradition texts. Grades 7-9.

d. Conflict: A Guide to Selected Curriculum Materials--17 curriculum units developing the concept of conflict are described by teachers based on their classroom experiences using them. Single copies free. Additional copies 25¢ each.

Teaching Youth About Conflict and War. William Nesbitt, Norman Abramowitz, Charles Bloomstein (eds.), No. 5, Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis Series. National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Background essays, a simulation game, and further teaching suggestions and resources.

Conflict--a simulation of a disarmed world for 24-36 players, for grades 10-12. Order from SIMILE II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, California 92037. About \$20-\$25.

Confrontation, by Ralph Meyers and Gary Thorpe--a multi-media and simulation unit on the Cuban Missile Crisis, including 4 sound filmstrips, booklets of press reports. Teacher's guide. Order from Social Studies School Service, 10000 Culver City Blvd., Culver City, California 90230.

Other simulations and role-plays form the Center for Conflict Resolution, Madison, Wisconsin.

"Crisis and Change"--excellent newsletter on community conflicts and crises and conflict resolution, published by the Community Crisis Intervention Center.

"Value Analysis Scenario on a Multi-national Corporation"--a conflict role-play developed by the Institute for World Order.

War and War Prevention by J. and R. Moore. New York: Hayden American Values Series (1974). \$2.50. See p. , for more information

Human Nature and War by William Nesbitt. New York State Department of Education, Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, Albany, NY 12210

The Philadelphia Life Center of the Movement for a New Society will soon publish their "monster manual" of group process and consensus decision-making. Their work with groups is excellent and we are expecting that the manual will be extremely useful to anyone seriously striving to achieve consensus decision-making.



SPECIAL FOCUS: The United Farm Workers  
A Case Study in Non-violent Conflict Resolution

GOAL:

To present an effective alternative to violence in resolving injustice. To point out the viability and desirability of a more human settlement. To get at the difficulties involved, and the dedication necessary to attain your goals.

NOTE:

A good film to begin this whole section with would be Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame"--an excellent work on the farm worker's plight.

As pointed out, this section can be long or short depending on the time, films available, and expertise of the teacher on the subject matter. But even with little or no knowledge on the UFW and non-violence, this section can be covered, and does provide a good method of acquainting the student with the ideals of Christian responsibility and non-violent resistance.

CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

A. A Brief Introduction into UFW history

1. The plight of the migrant farm worker as far back as the 19th century:

Originally, coolie labor was used by the farm owner, as it was cheap and plentiful. However, immigration laws drastically cut back on the number of Orientals allowed to come into this country, so there was a gradual shift from coolie labor to Chicano, to Mexican-American, labor--from yellow-skinned people to brown-skinned people. The 1930's were characterized by great unionization efforts in the steel and automobile industries. A great deal of legislation was passed to protect these unions and the rights of the worker to organize. However, the farm workers were systematically left out of such legislation. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), for instance, specifically excludes agricultural workers and their grievances.

2. With this history of exploitation against the farm worker, the mammoth task of organizing the farm worker:

Cesar Chavez took up the struggle in the early 1960's. Himself the son of a farm worker and having spent several years as a laborer in the fields, Chavez was more than acquainted with the injustices the migrant worker had to cope with. Chavez quit his job as a community organizer to devote all his time to bringing about the changes necessary to eradicating those injustices. He had to deal with many problems: A history of previous failures to organize the workers; a low level of awareness on the part of the workers themselves; a great amount of wealth and power in favor of the corporation farm owners; practically no funds for unionization efforts.

3. What Chavez has managed to accomplish in spite of all that was against an effort to organize the workers:

Tremendous grassroots organizing, achieved mainly through the zeal and dedication of Chavez, has made the nigh-impossible task of a farm worker union a reality. It took many 16-hour days and many miles to speak to the workers themselves in the small towns and labor camps throughout the Delano valley, but it payed off--membership and union dues steadily increasing.

4. What their union effort has accomplished (emphasis might be put on the fact that this effort has been a non-violent one by design from the very beginning):

In 1965 the farm workers went on strike to get some of their basic rights--not privileges, but rights: a fairer living wage, a union hiring hall, better sanitation facilities, better health care, more safety provisions, better pesticide control, injury compensation, child labor laws to include farm workers, etc. (remember--these things have been taken for granted for years by most industrial workers). They called for a nationwide boycott of table grapes, taking the issue to the public. By 1970 the UFW has signed contracts with 80-85% of the grape growers in California--it was a great moment and well-deserved victory for the UFW. Since then a primary (product only) or secondary (stores selling the product--appealing to their sense of responsibility) boycott has been in effect against non-union iceberg lettuce.

5. A major setback and the current setting in the UFW struggle:

In April, 1973 the grape contracts expired. Without conferring with the UFW or letting the workers in the fields vote on what union they wanted to represent them, the growers immediately signed contracts with the Teamsters, who had agreed in the previous contracts to represent the workers in the packing houses and the truckers, but this time including the field workers--a tactic the growers and Teamsters could get away with because agricultural workers were not covered by any labor legislation. Clearly it was a matter of union busting on the part of the Teamsters.

6. In 1975, California passed the first farm labor legislation, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. At the writing of this chapter, it has been in effect for just 6 months and the workings out of its implications have been painful. The first of the many violators of the law are just now coming to trial. One penalty for unfair labor practices required a grower who fired a worker for wearing a UFW button the day after the workers' elections where the UFW won, to pay that worker \$800 in back wages. Penalties like that have helped make growers in southern California, where the harvest is in late winter and elections are just beginning, more scrupulous observers of the law.

NOTE: I had just finished the above when I got a phone call saying the bill is impaired because the State has run out of money to implement it and Sunkist lobbyists are urging the legislators to refuse more funds until the bill is amended to suit Sunkist. And California is only the first state! The struggle never ends!

Some excellent sources include: Jaques Levy's Cesar Chavez, an Autobiography of a Union and the two films Why We Boycott and Fighting for Our Lives. These express the suffering of farm workers and their nonviolent struggle against vast odds far better than the above few words.

**B. A Role Play on Farmer Worker Picketing**  
Another way to help students gain a hint of the dedication the farm worker has to non-violence is to enact the following role-play, designed to let students climb into the shoes of the farm laborer.

1. Have 8-10 students stand against the wall in the front of the room. The rest of the class is in their seats. Briefly explain the situation: The students are farm workers on strike, standing along the roadside next to the fields; it is 4:30 in the afternoon in mid-August; they've been up since 3:00 a.m. in order to get to this field; it is very hot; they are appealing to their fellow workers in the fields to come out on strike; you, the teacher and a couple of students, are Teamster counter-pickets, trying to intimidate both the workers in the fields and the UFW pickets. You stand between the picketers and the rest of the class. Those who are seated remain silent during the role-play. The counter pickets use mainly verbal slurs; for example: "Greasers", "Wineheads", "Frito banditos", "Why aren't you women home making babies", "Why are you yelling at them (those in the fields)--aren't they your brothers--you all look alike", "You crazy Mexicans haven't you got enough sense to let your kids go to school, so you drag them out here". The idea should be clear--you are trying to use the typical stereotypes for farm workers. You want to get the ire of the players up, even anger them. Let them know what it feels like to be verbally accosted. You might even go so far as to push one of the students to get a reaction(s).

Meanwhile, the picketers try to ignore you and tell their seated classmates about the strike. The picketers want the other workers to leave the fields and join the picket lines. So the picketers say things like: "We are struggling for your children." "We need your help." "Please join us." "Don't work for these Teamsters." "Who do you know is right?"

Stop the role-play when you think feelings have heightened between the picketers and the counter-pickers.

2. Reactions to and reflections on the role play (15-20 minutes).

This can be an excellent opportunity to address several things--the UFW struggle, non-violence, their own feelings, and/or what occurs psychologically to the Teamsters, the aggressor, if their taunting and pushing is met not with cowardice or returned violence, but with open acceptance.

a. Before addressing that last point, it is important to get everyone's reactions (usually they have many). What did they feel at being verbally abused? This is the time to point out that the stereotype slurs we used are fallacies. For instance, "Why aren't you kids in school" is one of the reasons the farm workers are striking--so that their children will have a childhood worth remembering, not one of constant toil and travel. "Why don't you go back where you came from" is not a fair statement either, because the Mexican-American is more a part of the original California and Arizona than the Anglo.

b. Ask questions like: What did you feel at being harassed so? What did you want to do? Were you tempted to play the Teamsters' name-calling game? Did you want to strike back? It is important to get these feelings verbalized. How did the harassers feel? If they were ignored, did that make them angrier? What happens to the pushers who are not pushed back? It is unnerving for them. Try to get the students to see how the oppressor can begin to wonder if she or he is right if the attacks, verbal or physical, are met with open courage and non-retaliation. The Teamsters should see how strongly you feel about your cause, and just might ask if they are right to be where they are and do what they are doing. This "suffering love"--your willingness to accept pain for your beliefs and out of your respect for the oppressor--just what does it enable you to do (to be dealt with more later)? Further, how much power does the nonviolent actor have? Did the UFW folks know they had that much power? Is it bad if the Teamsters felt anger rather than love?

### C. Commitment to Nonviolence

1. There are several films available that point out what the UFW is doing: "Decision At Delano", "Viva La Causa", some slide-tape presentations, and the 1975 production, "Fighting for our Lives". Available at local UFW offices. In St. Louis, call 534-6093.

2. The films offer a good opportunity to speak of Chavez's and the UFW's commitment to non-violence as a change agent. Chavez requires three things of anyone who wants to work for the UFW full time--that they read the Sermon on the Mount, some of the works of Mahatma Gandhi, and to look at the example of St. Francis of Assisi. It is also a good time to acquaint the class further with the sacrifices and commitment non-violence requires: The harassment of pickets, leaving one's home and family to go across the country to appeal to the public, or perhaps even death (which claimed two workers in 1974, one resulting from blows from a flashlight to the head by a deputy, another from a shotgun blast from a passing car. To date, there have been no arrests). The slides show the emphasis the UFW has on alternatives that can raise the quality of their

living situation. Their "Forty Acres" project is a prime example. It is attempting to train personnel to staff a free health clinic. It will have a center for the study of non-violence, and it will provide many other services. The emphasis is on self-sufficiency, on getting away from dependence on others, the owners, for meeting real needs.

### 3. The Non-Violent Alternative (1 to 2 class periods).

Up to this point, the focus has been on the UFW struggle, with some references and discussion on their choice of non-violence as the method of attaining their goals. The emphasis now shifts to non-violence more specifically. Of course some of the questions from the role play should surface again. How does non-violence help the farm worker overcome that feeling of helplessness? The key question is how can one overcome that desire to hit, to use violence? Just how effective is non-violence?

#### a. Why non-violence?

As a Christian, this question should not have to be asked, but sadly it is--the advocated of non-violence has had to prove his case. This is drastically wrong and contrary to basic Christian teachings. The burden of proof should lie on the user of violence, on the violent themselves. Violence should have to be justified, not non-violence.

#### b. Violence and what it does to both the oppressor and the oppressed.

When conflicts are resolved violently someone has to lose. That involves humiliation, losing face. It is strictly a power play resolution, strictly win or lose. This can only breed resentment, and usually the loser, the one oppressed and defeated will seek to overcome his oppressor when the opportunity avails itself. As soon as the downtrodden has the cunning or power, they too will try to place their oppressor in the same humiliation. It is a spiralling game of one-up-manship. Put another way, if one resists force with more force to seize power, she might become just as oppressing and unjust as the one dethroned. Violence is a contaminating poison.

#### c. Point out the futility of violence.

Gandhi saw history as nothing more than the written record of the disruptions of human unity. With this idea in mind, the teacher should try to point out the undesirable consequences of violent conflict resolution. Has not history shown that "To the victor the spoils" has meant great injustice, and only proven in the long run to be a catalyst for further conflict and aggression? Wasn't World War II due partly to a treaty (Versailles) that did not allow the Germans any self-worth, robbing them of any face they might have saved? History is full of such examples.

#### d. The Non-Violent Alternative.

Violence is easier to use. It is quicker and more expedient, but does that justify its use? As Thomas Merton put it in Faith and Violence concerning the difference between violent and non-violent conflict resolution: "There is an essential difference here, for non-violence seeks to 'win' not by destroying or even humiliating the adversaries but by convincing them that there is a higher and more certain common good than can be attained by bombs and blood." Isn't that what the farm workers want to accomplish? Wasn't that what the role-play was getting at--aiming to change hearts, not to bust heads?

The non-violent register is not fighting simply for "his" or "her" truth or side. Nor does she view the other side, the opponent, as a "their"---"their" crazy ideas, etc. That is what non-violence is all about--it is not an "I-thou" relationship; instead, it is aimed at a common, unifying position, a "we" solution. Non-violence wants to free both the oppressor and the oppressed from evil. Oneness, unity, and mutual recognition are its goals and ideals. It is based on two assumptions:

(1) That all persons are redeemable, that unity, not division, is more basic to the human race, and

(2) that means and ends, methods and goals, are closely intertwined, and only by non-violent means can we produce a society where all are one, free, just, etc.

That makes very good sense--would it be possible to have a fair and just system if it took violent efforts to get it?

Non-violence is based on concern, care, and love for everyone involved, not just one side. Can the same thing be said for violence? Violence is dependent on its own calculations; non-violence is dependent on God and His Word. Non-violence is based on respect for the human person without which there is no real Christianity.

#### e. Common misconceptions and pitfalls concerning non-violence.

It is possible that the students might have these same questions, but some common mistakes about non-violence should be pointed out and rectified:

(1) Non-violence does not avoid conflict; it is not bliss but a different, more human way of resolving those conflicts.

(2) Non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is not a coward's way of fighting. Non-violence is a choice by those who could choose to be violent. It requires much training, practice, and discipline.

(3) Non-violence must not be mere protest that can only serve to make the oppressor more close-minded. It must avoid self-righteousness, and



never be satisfied with simply going through the motions.

f. Non-violence--not only a tactic, but a lifestyle.

Commitment is the key to maintaining a non-violent struggle. If the basic commitment is lacking, then there is nothing to sustain the effort once the novelty wears off. Unless there is a thorough understanding of and commitment to non-violence, the efforts will in all likelihood remain only nominal. Both fortitude and patience are extremely important--how else can one remain steadfast for years like a Cesar Chavez or a Dorothy Day?

Community can provide the necessary sustaining power that is so important to a non-violent struggle. Community--people sharing, and and searching together, people providing a cushion and a challenge--is paramount. For one person to try to stand alone is a burden too heavy for most to bear. But if people with a genuine belief and commitment join together, a dream can begin to take real, concrete form. The farm workers in California and Arizona, for example, would have accomplished very little had they not had each other, had they not joined one another in a common struggle. They provide each other with strength. Their "Forty Acres" project is making that dream visible; it is a real sign of hope.

g. Non-Violence: A possibility in your own lives?

Without a doubt, the point of the presentation is to try to raise the conscience levels in the classroom. It is extremely doubtful that a high school junior (or seniors in college or middle-aged businessmen...) can fully grasp all the implications involved in a non-violent lifestyle. However, the alternative, the question must be grappled with. The teacher should only want to unsettle some of those traditional ways of thinking or non-thinking. Is non-violence applicable in situations that the students are confronted with daily? What is their responsibility to the poor? What will they think or do the next time lettuce is served--non-violence does not avoid confrontation; it might prove awkward, but where do the changes have to occur first? Are there not situations in the classrooms or in personal relationships that can be dealt with in an open, honest, and trusting way--the qualities that epitomize the non-violent and Christian ethics? Are high school athletics coercive--is there room for improvement? Are not teams communities as well? This could be an excellent time to let the students voice their general feelings about nonviolence and their lives. It might bring up some of the key issues that the sessions have revolved around, and provide good real life situations for the students. More than any other session this one needs dialogue and flexibility.

#### READINGS

##### FOR THE TEACHER:

To help the teacher become familiar with the Farm Worker struggle and Non-violence these readings might be helpful:

Peter Matthiessen, Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution (New York: Random House, 1969): Excellent on UFW history and a personal and good look at the life and leadership of Cesar Chavez.

The Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202 will provide a lengthy bibliography designed to meet the needs of elementary, junior high, and high school students.

Jane Yett Kiley, Report to Safeway on the Lettuce Labor Dispute (the Montgomery Street Center, San Francisco, California, 1973): A good summation of the lettuce strike and its causes and history from a woman who started out working with Safeway but in her research discovered that the UFW's actions were justified.

Joan Bondurant, The Conquest of Violence (Princeton University Press, 1958): A good look at Gandhi; has a long chapter on 5 case studies in non-violence.

Edwin Guinan, Peace and Non-Violence: Contains a short introduction to many examples of non-violence and its practitioners (The Berrigans, Gandhi, Dorothy Day, Martin Luther King, Thomas Merton, and others).

\*Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-violence (New York: Shoken Books, 1966): The whole book is good on non-violence and its psychology, but the first three chapters could be very helpful, with case studies and examples of non-violence and the psychological interplay involved. Could prove to be a good text for the student in a lengthier study on non-violence.

##### FOR THE STUDENT:

To acquaint the student with the UFW and with non-violence, these might be beneficial:

Thomas Merton, Faith and Violence (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 1968): The first section of this book is a short, concise summation, really getting at the essence of non-violence. Only a few pages long, it should be excellent for the student.

Christopher News Notes has an excellent little pamphlet on the migrant workers entitled, "To Everyone a Chance". This too should be very good in acquainting the student with what the UFW struggle is all about. They cost only \$2.00 per hundred. Send to: Christopher News Notes, 12 E. 48th Street, New York 10017

See also "Gandhi as Peacemaker" slide/tape presentation and other materials described in "Today's Peacemakers" and "The Gospel Call to Peace and Justice."

## B. INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

### 1. Introduction

### 2. Peace, Justice and Law

#### a. U.S. Legal System

#### b. Conflict Between Law and Morality

### 3. Institutional Violence and Specific Groups of People

#### a. Racism

#### b. Peace and Justice for Women

#### c. Old People: A Forgotten Sector

### 4. Economics and Institutional Violence

#### a. Poverty

#### b. Propaganda and Advertising

#### c. Justice and Political Economy

## INTRODUCTION TO INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

### GOALS AND RELEVANCE

Thomas Merton says that most of the violence done in the world today is a white collar, bureaucratic violence. It seems to me that many of the institutions of our society do a great deal of psychological violence in the sense of destroying, in whole or in part, individuals' sense of self-worth or ability to make decisions concerning one's own life. This type of violence is extremely subtle in that it is not the result of a conscious decision to do violence in each specific case where violence is done. Rather, elements are built into institutions which frequently do result in violence being done. To concretize these somewhat abstract notions and to bring them home to the group, we suggest focusing on the school system especially as a form of institutional violence, as well as the other units to follow.

To recognize that the overt violence of oppressed peoples is not the only form and is the least destructive (perhaps even constructive at times) form of violence.

To examine the many institutions in which violence is a reality and how it operates.

To find constructive ways of dealing with institutional violence, beginning with educational institutions.

### CONTENT

1. Introductory essay, "Institutional Violence: Peacemaking in the U.S." by James McGinnis. It builds on the "spiral of violence" idea of Dom Helder Camara—"violence #1" leading to "violence #2" leading to "violence #3". This essay and this chapter serve as an introduction to the remaining chapters which focus on the specific forms of institutional violence.

2. See PEACE, JUSTICE AND LAW, for a discussion of legal violence.

3. See RACISM, for a discussion of institutional racism.

4. See POVERTY, for a discussion of the institutional forms of violence in welfare system, tax system, and other aspects of the issue of poverty.

5. See JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, for a discussion of an economic system and policies that counteract economic violence.

6. See OLD PEOPLE, A FORGOTTEN SECTOR, for a discussion of institutional violence toward the elderly in the United States.

7. See PEACE AND JUSTICE FOR WOMEN, for a discussion of sexism, that is, institutional violence toward women.

8. See "the Global City" project and GLOBAL POVERTY, pp. 111-114 and pp. 148-49, for a discussion of institutional violence

in the economic rules of the game by which the industrialized world exploits the countries of the Third World.

9. See MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 287 ff, for a discussion of institutional violence in the school system.

### METHODOLOGY

Mary Ann McGivern's essay, "On Telling Children About Institutional Violence", below, for specific suggestions for helping students deal with injustice. See the appropriate units mentioned above for specific methodological suggestions on each issue.

### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the appropriate units mentioned above.

Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth. Grove Press, 1963, for an excellent presentation of institutional violence or oppression from the perspective of those oppressed. See excerpts from Fanon in CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, pp.

Dom Helder Camara, The Spiral of Violence (a shortened version is in Sign magazine, March 1971).

# "ON TELLING KIDS ABOUT INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE"

When a baby in the Mississippi River Delta dies of medical complications stemming from malnutrition, that death is an example of institutional violence. When a Florida fruit picker's open wound develops gangrene because no medical services are available, that gangrene is an example of institutional violence. Enough protein and other foods are produced in our world to meet everyone's basic needs right now--even if such even-steven sharing would leave us all a little hungry. That the food is not evenly distributed is an example of structural violence, violence that results in people's deaths. There is enough medical knowledge and there are enough health care specialists in the world and enough drugs to prevent most gangrene and the resulting amputation or death. Not making those medical goods and services available to folks who need them is an example of structural violence.

Structural violence is the sort of violence that persons do not will to happen. No individual wills most instances of brain damage or death through malnutrition, or the psychic injury that comes from racist and sexist policies, or the instances of degradation that attend urban slum living. All these violences are caused by structures, or maybe by one big overriding evil structure. Whatever the cause, these violences exist.

Structural violence exists. And here we get into the point of my article. Teachers must tell students that structural violence exists. Six year olds and twenty-two year olds must learn in school about the horrible inequities that are perpetrated by non-human forces in motion for the benefit of a very few humans. The act of telling others this tragedy of our present existence is central to the definition of the process of education.

Teachers serve no good purpose by sowing seeds of despair or by giving easy answers. If we know ourselves to be powerless in the face of evil, we will transmit that powerlessness to students. If we are pollyannas, so will our students be--unless they are blessed with parents who are stronger than our culture. What I say applies to parents too, though I am a teacher and not a parent.

First, in school we must deal with the content of structural violence. Primary children can read from the Christmas newspaper lists of the hundred neediest cases. They can view the filmstrip "Five Families." (See p. 170). Their readers can be chosen for the honesty of the stories as well as for phonics skill-building. Within such content, teachers can initiate discussion with even very young children that includes sentences like these: "Yes, that is a place on the map showing a country where people are hungry." "Why do you suppose we don't fly a whole lot of food there?" "Should the people of the United States build us better houses? better schools?" "What stories have I told you about people who have changed whole systems?" Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott (See p. 317), Jane Addams and the Chicago Garbage Collectors, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, Gandhi, Moses, Jesus ....

As children get older, it is much easier to find appropriate content on institutional violence for them. Middle school and junior high students generally enjoy biographies and many are available about persons who have bucked the system. However, now the content must more clearly deal with what the system is. Math students can make out tax forms (and compare them to public officials?), learn what money is and how it works, learn how banks work, learn the economic rules of the game of world trade (see pp. 111-114). Geography students can also study world trade--not memorizing imports and exports but understanding what balance of trade means and looking for the winners and losers in the trading game, for example, by studying the impact of coffee around the world, as well as natural and artificial boundaries and the concept of different cultures but one humanity. English and social studies courses provide a wide variety of options that easily fit within the tastes and interests of a particular teacher.

That last sentence is the rub. Teachers must direct their tastes and particular interests toward issues of institutional violence if we are to be effective tellers of the truth. More than that, we must ourselves be models for the children to follow. It is not enough for them to hear us tell of Rosa Parks for them to feel there is any hope in the world. It is not enough for them to hear us say that we have hope. They must see us act on our hope:

However, teachers are already too busy. We try to be non-violent in class. We try to negate the impact of the school's institutional violence on our children. We take on more students and teach more hours in order to provide personalized instruction and better quality of teaching. In doing all these things we are doing violence to ourselves. So already most of us, with the best of good will, are bad models for kids who are seeking to combat structural violence in the world. I do not recommend that we take on more.

Yet there are some non-time-consuming actions we can regularly engage in. We can stand up and be counted by wearing a button or bracelet for some cause, any cause that strikes at some element of institutional violence. Put a bumper sticker on your car. Wear a black armband on the anniversaries of the assassinations of Lincoln, King, Malcolm X, both Kennedys, even McKinley. Keep your money in a credit union and explain to students how credit unions provide an economic alternative for society. Trade at a co-op. Put the school address on letters you write to elected politicians so that the word gets out that you do write. Subscribe to Common Cause. Boycott lettuce and grapes. Read the "Non-Buying Guide for Peace" (see p. 343) and try to change your buying habits. Don't pay your telephone tax on the grounds that it is continuing to pay for war.

Some of the above are moderate moves and some are moderately left. None of them are time consuming or involving of great personal risk. It is probably not an effective teaching strategy in most cases to get fired. Also note that these strategies are models for students from kindergarten through graduate school and on into the community of your peers. People of all ages notice what other folks do and don't do. And we all test out in our heads whether we could do these same things.

While we can all be justice gadflies with little expenditure of time and effort, and while I do believe such visible modeling is essential for good teaching, it is not enough. I think that in order to tell students the realities of institutional violence we must be actively involved in one issue. Regarding that one issue a teacher should know the basic legislation, the history, the names of the national leaders; and she should work on a regular basis with local leaders. The issue can be farm workers, abortion, prison reform, equal rights for women, Chilean political prisoners, foreign aid, corporal punishment in schools, lead paint poisoning.... The list goes on. It does not matter what issue a teacher chooses to be involved in. Her involvement will improve the quality of her teaching and make her a more legitimate model in the eyes of her students.

First, on improvement of the quality of teaching, I've found for myself that when I participate actively in any doings, my mind starts clicking on how I can effectively translate my experience to my students. When I rode with a busload of people to testify for a Missouri minimum wage, I didn't know anything but what the Senate subcommittee on agriculture said about minimum wages for farmworkers (my one issue is the United Farm Workers). I learned a lot on that bus ride and during the committee hearing. And after the first hour I began to get ideas about how to make the issue real to kids--read the want ads and circle the jobs that offer less than \$2 per hour in red, and then send copies of that paper to all the committee members; next time have the students write a statement of testimony and all go to the Capitol or send a delegation from the class to lobby for the bill; role play a congressional hearing. This was all a few months ago and the pity is that this year I'm only teaching experienced teachers. But the experience reinforced my belief that creative and effective teaching flows from active involvement.

Just a note here on legitimacy--7th to 10th graders have tended to challenge me extensively, usually on the grounds that I talk a lot and don't act. That is a serious criticism and one that I deserve in part. But I spend my weekends picketing and canvassing and engaging in whatever activity a UFW staff member (or in times past a McGovern organizer or anti-war worker) organizes. Students respect that behavior and some seem to imitate it.

I've also been accused by students of being unpatriotic, told by them I should leave the U.S.A. The sort of patriotism I try to practice is threatening to many children and grown-ups. I try to speak reassuring words, but again I think my actions, my modeling behavior, is more reassuring.

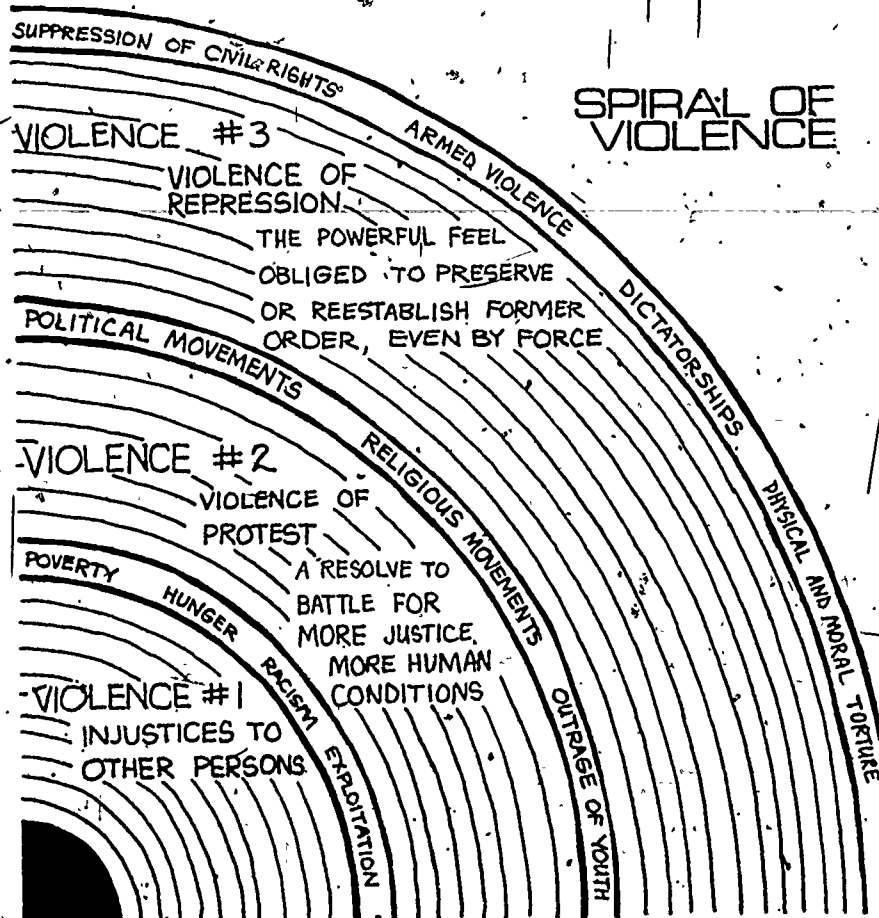


Finally I get to the radical bit of this paper. I said that I do not favor busy teachers taking on any more new things. I also said I think it is essential for a teacher who wants to tell her students about structural violence to be deeply immersed in one issue. The solution I propose is that teachers negotiate for contracts to teach five/sixths time with the understanding that the remaining one/sixth time will be spent working for social change.

Two groups of teachers could easily negotiate contracts to spend 1/6 time working for a social justice issue--alternative school faculties and Catholic school faculties. Alternative schools are designed to offer such options to teachers as well as to students and many such schools are themselves creative responses to the institutional violence within education. All Catholic schools are committed in principle to value education and the religious women who are the mainstays of these schools have already dedicated their lives to the seeking of peace and justice. I think the teachers in both kinds of schools are ready to take on this commitment. Besides all the above, both groups are already working for very little money and remain cheap labor if they choose to work a little less than full time.

A few public schools would be open to the contract described above--maybe many would jump at it, especially in the large cities. But some variations which would threaten school boards a bit less include teaching fewer students, sharing a job and salary with someone else, and reorganizing school time to do less violence to teachers, all with the understanding that time thus bought is to be spent changing the structures that cause violence.

My proposal is not a very radical suggestion. It does not attack the structure or fabric of the school or alter significantly traditional concepts of the meaning of education. But it is a step teachers can take to do more than we are presently doing to combat institutional violence, promote justice, and help the young prepare themselves for their future.



## Institutional Violence: Peacemaking in the United States By James B. McGinnis

"Injustice is a form of violence and breeds counter-violence. What is violence? Violence is rejection as well as attack - a denial of needs, a reduction of man to the status of objects to be broken, manipulated or ignored. The violence of lead can cripple bodies; the violence of miseducation can cripple minds; the violence of unemployment can murder self-esteem and hope; the violence of a chronic insecurity can disfigure personalities as well as persons; and the violence of unequal laws can kill manhood as well as men."  
(from an American Friends Service Committee newsletter)..

How can we be peacemakers in our own society? To answer this, we need first to understand the peacelessness or violence around us. Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil, awarded the 1974 Peoples' Peace Prize, speaks of three kinds of violence which combine to form what he calls "the spiral of violence." Violence #1 is institutional violence, the violence in the rules or policies of institutions or systems that drive countless human beings into a subhuman condition, where they undergo restrictions, humiliations and injustice, without hope; their condition is that of slaves. Violence #2 is counter-violence, the violence that results from violence #1 - riots, violent revolutions, terrorism, and much of the crime we see in this country. Violence #3 is the repression that is generally the response to violence #2. It takes the form of bigger and better police and military forces, the results of which can sometimes be as tragic as the Kent State killings and the military take-over in Chile. But violence #3 can never really solve violence #2, because violence #2 is a direct response to violence #1. Thus, to be a peace-maker today means solving violence #1. But most of us are hardly aware of all the institutional violence in our society, much less the rest of the world, and those who are, often find it difficult to overcome. Let's spend some time getting a broader sense of the extent of violence #1 in the United States.

Racism is a classic example of violence #1. Racism takes many forms. In education, it can mean exposing students to white teachers, white history and white values only, implying their superiority. It can mean inferior education for minorities for many reasons, one of which is the financing of schools through taxes and thus allowing wealthier areas to have better schools. In jobs, racism means excluding minorities from many unions, especially the building trades, and thus an unemployment rate double that of whites. It means restricting minorities to certain types of jobs. Thus, still about 40% of all nonwhite male workers remain in service, labor or farm jobs - twice the percentage of whites in those same jobs. In areas of police and the law, racism means a double standard: unequal police protection, much more rigid enforcement for minorities and often outright harassment, especially of juveniles. It means heavier sentences for the same crimes, higher bail and less opportunity for "release on one's own recognizance" while awaiting trial. The news media also participates in racism, though not always so overtly as in this episode.

Poverty is a second area of violence #1. The poor are victims - victims of tax laws that allow the rich to escape their social responsibility; victims of the economic power and thus political influence of corporations. Thus, farm workers, for instance, have to struggle not only against the wealth of corporate growers (sometimes termed "agri-business"), but also often against the courts, police and legislators beholden to these businesses. The poor are victims of an economic system that requires 4%-5% unemployment otherwise known as "full employment". But those 4%-5% - millions of persons - are called "lazy" and thus we blame the victims.

The treatment of women, more than one-half of our population, affords another example of violence #1 - institutional violence. Laws discriminate against women in employment, in contract rights, in education and many other areas. The darker the state on this map, the worse the discrimination. But the struggle for equality includes far more than legal issues. The stereotypes of a "women's role" and "women's work" begin at an early age. It becomes impossible for young women to think of themselves as baseball stars or engineers, and for young men to think of themselves as secretaries or nurses. More practically, positions of equal dignity, responsibility and pay become impossible. The graphs show that women on the average earn less than men, and that the gap is growing larger. Women represent just tiny percentages of high-status professional groups - 9% is the highest rate pictured here. Still worse, issues of responsible decision-making such as marriage and parenthood become idealized and glamorized, and become at the same time the life-style that women are strongly pressured to choose. Stereotypes have infected our culture over countless generations, as illustrated in the male-dominated language in everyday use. According to Spiro Agnew, for example, "Three things have been difficult to tame: the oceans, fools, and women. We may soon be able to tame the ocean; fools and women will take a little longer." The domination of males in history of our own country has also suppressed awareness of the women who have contributed to building a decent society, women like Susan B. Anthony; Jane Addams, the Nobel Peace Prize recipient; Harriet Tubman, the Black heroine of the "Underground Railroad" of Civil War days; Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker; Eleanor Roosevelt; and countless unnamed native-American women.

A fourth area of violence #1 is the federal budget itself. In 1973, the average American family had its tax dollars spent as follows: \$125 for education, \$63 for housing and urban development, \$45 for the environment, and \$1,486 for the military. \$85 billion for the military in 1974 may mean the United States is #1 in the world in military hardware, but it also means we are 8th in doctor-patient ratio, 14th in infant mortality, 14th in literacy, and 25th in life-expectancy. A single Trident submarine in 1973 meant a major cutback in education programs. Perhaps the most violent of all such projects is the B-1 Bomber, a new weapon system that will cost between \$50 billion and \$75 billion when all 241 bombers are built and put into operation. 1974 represents the third year of research and development on the B-1, the time to urge Congress to put an end to this fantastically wasteful and destructive project. The B-1 effectively means a continuation of hunger for more than 10 million Americans, continued failure to meet the housing needs of other millions, a continuation of poverty for more than 25 million Americans and for one out of every six children. This is violence.

Violence #1 becomes even more violent when it moves overseas. Here it is to be found primarily in the economic "rules of the game" by which this country and other industrialized countries rape the peoples of the Third World. There are many internal reasons why the so-called developing countries are economically poor, but a major reason for their poverty is our affluence. Americans and Western Europeans spend twice as much on alcohol and tobacco in a single year as the entire Gross National Product of India. Why don't countries like India do something? Many have tried but few, outside of the oil-producing countries, have been successful. One example is Brazil and coffee. Until recently, Brazil was like most Third World countries - an exporter of raw materials like coffee beans, and an importer of manufactured goods. As this graph indicates, there is a much higher profit on the sale of manufactured goods than on raw materials. Third World countries have to export more and more raw materials to be able to buy the same amount of manufactured items. In 1960, as the graph indicates, it took 66 bags of coffee to buy a single truck, but by 1969 it took 90 bags. OK, so why don't Third World countries develop manufacturing industries and get some of those higher profits? Brazil tried. In 1967, Brazil developed a freeze-dried coffee operation which cut into 14% of the U.S. instant coffee market. U.S. corporations pressured the U.S. government, which in turn pressured the Brazilian government - by threatening to cut off foreign aid. Brazilian instant coffee, which U.S. corporations and politicians called "unfair competition", was effectively eliminated. In the spring of 1974, the coffee-producing countries announced that the price of raw coffee was going up 10%-20%. Some people in this country screamed at this outrageous action, but Pope Paul VI reminded us a number of years ago that one of the things the rich nations would have to do to help overcome the economic exploitation (violence #1) of the Third World is to be willing to pay higher prices for their exports. But this isn't enough, for the military dictatorship in Brazil is unlikely to ensure that it will be the workers who will benefit from higher profits on coffee. Salvador Allende in Chile tried to set up precisely such a government, one that would respond to the needs of the workers and peasants, but the whole enterprise was overthrown by the military junta. Even before Allende took office, however, the U.S. government and one of the largest multinational corporations - ITT - were conspiring to prevent his election - not by bullets but by the economic power that multinational corporations have in the Third World - a clear case of violence #1.

A second example brings the problem of economic violence closer to our homes. Protein, beef, and hunger. Peru catches more fish than any other country in the world, fish is one of the best sources of protein, and yet Peru is one of the worst protein-deficient countries in the world. Why? Part of the reason lies in the terms of trade problems facing all Third World countries - that is, they must export more and more of their raw materials if they want to buy manufactured goods. But part of the reason lies in the tastes of people in the U.S. and Europe. 95% of Peru's fish catch is converted into fish meal, which is sold to the U.S., partially to feed livestock. We feed our livestock enormous amounts of grain and fish meal, so as to fashion



them into tasty future steaks, chops, and hamburgers. But for every 20 units of protein - grain and fish meal - fed to cows, only 2 units of beef protein are produced. For every 2 pounds of protein we get from a steak or a hamburger, 18 pounds of protein are lost, wasted because we'd rather eat meat than vegetables. If we would eat the fish and grain that we feed to livestock - most of which is edible - the world's food supply would increase 35%, and 90% of the present shortage of protein in the world could be overcome. With millions starving, in Africa and South Asia particularly, a \$36 STEAK DINNER is violence #1, even if Master Charge tries to make you relax about it all.

Getting at all these and the thousands of other examples of violence #1 is a monumental task. What the term "institutional violence" implies is that the institutions must be changed - tax laws, union regulations, school curricula and school boards, corporations, courts, the military, economic rules. But lifestyles too must change, so that our world can become less uncivilized. And alternative structures must be built. Gandhi was one person who addressed himself to all three levels of action. What does he have to offer us in our own search for ways of living out our responsibility to be a peace-maker in the United States? Are you overwhelmed by the enormity of the problem? Many are paralyzed into despair and inaction, but Jesus' words continue to call us, as they did Gandhi - "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for justice, for they shall be satisfied." "Peace is possible," says Pope Paul, if - we hunger and thirst for justice. "Peace is built up every day by works of peace." What works of peace can we do or begin this day?

### "Institutional Violence"

This essay is the script for an 80-slide/cassette presentation by Jim McGinnis and available through the Institute. It can be rented for \$1 to \$10, depending on your ability to pay; or it can be purchased for \$29.

## A. U.S. LEGAL SYSTEM: DOES IT PROMOTE SOCIAL JUSTICE?

### GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. Peace in this country rests to a large degree on the extent to which social justice is a reality. A large contributing factor in the whole question of social justice is the legal system. It is important for students to take a critical look at the legal system and begin to make evaluations about whether or not the law is a promoter of social justice.

2. It is also essential to talk about the U.S. legal system in terms of whether or not it is a tool of violence and therefore incompatible with peace.

3. Our goals are to raise questions about

- the philosophy of the law itself;
- the law enforcement system;
- the court system;
- the corrective system.

### CONTENT and METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction. Brainstorm with the students on the following questions (and check them out at the end of the unit):

- What is a criminal?
- Who makes a good policeman?
- What is involved in a policeman's job?
- Who makes a good judge?
- What is your image of jails and prisons?
- What is a juvenile delinquent?
- What are the basic purposes of U.S. law?

### 2. Philosophy of U.S. Law

Consider these questions:

a. Rights of the accused—are these our only protection against a violent system? And secondly, has the Supreme Court given too much protection to the individual? Which of the two?

Use AEP publications "Rights of the Accused" and "Privacy"

b. The Bill of Rights—Are our individual liberties respected or is an atmosphere of repression growing? In order for students to get into this, a good technique is the case studies outlined in the AEP pamphlet "Dissent and Protest—Case Studies for Student Discussion." Church and Society magazine (Sept/Oct 1971), whole issue devoted to "Repression—USA"

c. Property Law—have the students discuss the statement (backed up by law; the right to defend your property with violence): "A man's Home Is His Castle"

landlord-tenant relations—human rights give way to property rights—Have students investigate the lead poisoning situation. National source for infor-

mation: Medical Commission for Human Rights, 710 S. Marshfield, Chicago, Ill. 60612. St. Louis source: Lead Poison Control Service, 1220 Oak Lane, St. Louis 63104. They could do some effective landlord-tenant role-plays bringing out the human rights/property rights issue.

### d. The poor and the law

Have students do research on the bail system. Have them research "white collar crime", perhaps some discussion or role-play on Watergate. Consider such questions as why do we as a society get so upset about \$50 stolen from a gas station, but not about the amount of money in a situation like Watergate? List "pairs" of crimes—one being a street crime (non-injury to a person), the other a "white collar crime", and have students indicate which seems worse to them, or which one they would be most upset about.

### e. Punitive character

The trial aspect of our legal system is intended to be punitive—it grew as a substitute for the Medieval joust. It is based on combat: there is a winner and a loser. The civil process is the same as the criminal process in this regard.

Have students sit in on a civil case, and then a criminal case. Have them simulate one or more civil cases, and see if they can think of resolutions that don't involve a winner and a loser.

### f. Conflict resolution potential

The law has a great deal of potential for non-violent conflict resolution and social change. Briefly review the history of the labor movement in this country. AEP's pamphlet "The Rise of Organized Labor" is a readable source. Based on the story of the labor situation, which obviously was a more violence-ridden atmosphere in its formation stages than it is now, discuss the practice of mediation: should it have any place in the legal system? Would mediation in civil cases mean any less violence in the legal system?

### 2. Law enforcement system

Consider these questions: What is the role of the police in society? What kind of controls exist over the police? What about police use of weapons? A reading for techniques on this topic—ABA's Standards Relating to Urban Police Function (Available from AMA's Advisory Committee on Police Function). Do role-plays with students playing themselves and another playing a policeman. How do they feel if a policeman pulls a gun? Construct situations in which the student playing himself now becomes a ghetto-dweller, or someone who has been hassled a lot by the police: Call on police as a resource people to come and talk to your class about how they see their role and how they feel about using violence.

Construct some hypothetical situations, and have students write down how they would react if they were policemen (e.g. you see a woman yelling that her purse was stolen and a boy is running down the street away from

her). Have them discuss why their reaction was the way it was. Was there a pattern to their reactions?

The movie Cornbread, Earl, and Me—current (1975) release—should provoke some discussion with high-school students about the role of the police in a community. It would be especially useful with black students.

### 3. Court System

Considering how the poor are treated in the courts, discuss the

- a. make-up of juries;
- b. experience of judges with regard to poverty
- c. plea bargaining—the accused pleads guilty to a lesser charge, even if he is not guilty, because of no money and no attorney who wants to take time;
- d. prosecutorial discretion—how many crimes in poor areas go unprosecuted because no one cares?

A good resource—Legal Aid Society speaker or social workers who work with the poor. You might be especially interested in getting a social worker from the juvenile court. For St. Louis teachers, a good source of written information is Missouri Association for Social Welfare, 1133 West High St., Jefferson City, MO 65101.

Research projects might be done on the racial or economic class—make-up of juries; on the economic background of judges; on the back-up of cases in the courts and what that means in human terms. Have students set up some mock trials with specific background for the participants (e.g. where is judge from; how many jurors are black, etc.)

### 4. The corrective system

- a. Capital punishment: isn't this the severest form of legalized violence? A good reading to help teachers see this question in the framework of violence is from Resistance, Rebellion and Death, by Albert Camus ("Reflections on the Guillotine," pp. 131-179 (could also be understood by better students)).

Have the students set up a mock state legislative session in which they are deciding whether or not to reinstate the death penalty in their state. A reading: "Death and the Judges: Cruel and Unusual Punishment?" by Isidore Silver in Commonweal (April 14, 1972, pp. 136-138). The Case Against Capital Punishment, Washington Research Project, 1971 (\$1 from ACLU in St. Louis).

- b. Punishment vs. Rehabilitation? See May/June 1971 issue of The Center Magazine, p. 31—"Punishment and Deterrence" Case study: Attica. Have the students do research on the Attica situation. Perhaps a role-play—some being prisoners, some correction officers. Students could then create a discussion as members of the NY State legislature about what could be done to correct the situation. Readings: "Inside Attica", Christianity and Crisis, May 29, 1972; "How Do We Respond to Attica?", by Peter Essley, in Church and Society,

Nov/Dec 1971 issue (p. 8).

Students could interview persons with differing perspectives on the prisons: corrections officials, former inmates, social workers, lawyers, jail visitors (consult MASW for information on "Jail Needs Study Project"). You might want to consider a visit to the juvenile detention center in your area. In St. Louis County a set of slides is being prepared on the Juvenile Detention Center. for information contact Mrs. Barbara Jacobs, c/o Kirkwood Police Dept., 822-8600.

Students in the St. Louis area could do research from newspaper accounts on the issue of the City Jail and Judge Regan's order in 1974 involving the necessity of revamping the facilities at the jail.

Note: if you are interested in pursuing this question specifically from the aspect of the juvenile picture, you might want to consider the place of the schools in the picture of "delinquency." A very good source for this is William Glasser, Schools Without Failure; a brief excerpt from an address by Glasser is enclosed—a good tool for discussion with students.

### 5. U.S. legal system, social justice and younger children

- a. Important concepts to be considered are respect for the rights of others, responsibility and accountability for one's own actions, the necessity of mutually setting some kinds of limits for behavior. These ideas are central to the "Mutual Education" section and give a real basis for an understanding of the law and justice; see pp. 291-94.
- b. Also, the ideas proposed by William Glasser in the short excerpt here and in his book have a lot of bearing on the child's image of herself and on her perception of her relation to society and her role in that society.

- c. Teachers might want to do some work to discover what kinds of images children have of police, of "criminals", of judges, of jails. Perhaps, some kind of mock court sessions would help with this.

### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Re: Juvenile situation—

William Glasser, Schools Without Failure (Harper & Row, 1969).  
Howard James, Children In Trouble: A National Scandal (Pocket Books, 1971).  
Lisa Richette, The Throwaway Children (Dell Publishing Co., 1969).

Re: Theory of the Law—

Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, American Violence: A Documentary History

(Vantage Book, 1971)—chronicles labor movement. Andrew McLaughlin, Foundations of American Constitutionalism (Pawcett Premier Book, 1961).

Edward S. Corwin, The "Higher Law" Background of American Constitutional Law (Cornell University Press).  
Karl Menninger, The Crime of Punishment (Viking Compass Book, 1966).

#### Specific teacher resources:

Justice in Urban America Series. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.)  
Law and Courts in the News: A Layman's Handbook of Court Procedures With a Glossary of Legal Terminology—prepared by ABA Standing Committee on Public Relations, ABA Center, Chicago, Ill.

William M. Gibson, Lessons in Conflict: Legal Education Materials for Secondary Schools (Boston: Boston University School of Law).

Legal Education of Youth—a compilation of materials prepared and edited by P.F. Fishman, available at \$2.00 from National Clearinghouse for Legal Services, Northwestern University School of Law, 710 N. Lakeshore Dr., Chicago, Ill.

You and the Law—a resource manual with games, plays, readings. might be especially helpful for ideas for the slower student. Available free from Dallas Junior Bar Wives' Club, Inc., Dallas Bar Association, Adolphus Hotel, Dallas, Texas 75221.

Student materials—e.g., simulations like High School (on authority) (\$1) and Equal Rights (on rights of students, minorities, women; \$1)—are available from the Constitutional Rights Foundation, 609 S. Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90017.

Other resources in the St. Louis area are (1) Mr. Phil Fishman, formerly of Legal Aid and now working in the Legal Education field at Forest Park Community College, specifically preparing materials for use on the secondary level; and (2) ACLU, 8001 Clayton Road, St. Louis 63117 with their speakers' bureau and reading material.

The whole issue of the abuse of children, including the concept of corporal punishment in schools is handled in the Journal of Child Psychology (Spring, 1973).

#### Films and Audio-Visuals:

"Justice and the Poor"—60 minutes, B&W, a report on the inequities in the present justice system and on some reforms; from Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

"The Bill of Rights in Action: Due Process of Law"—23 minutes, color, 1971—an open-ended film in which lawyers present their arguments concerning due process during a hearing to reinstate a student who has been summarily suspended after an act of violence at a campus demonstration. Available at St. Louis Public Library.

"The Rich Pay a Fine, The Poor Go to Jail"—cassette tape—studies show that our legal system deals primarily with the poor, who fail at crime and cannot obtain the legal services available to more affluent lawbreakers. Cost: \$7.50, from Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

Officer Lawson Burford, Webster Groves Police Dept. (St. Louis County), has a slide presentation for K-3 children, using ants as an analogy for discussing responsibility and the concept of justice.

#### "Delinquency: Whose Problem?" by William Glasser (excerpts)

"What I want to talk to you about is the whole problem of prevention; delinquency being one of the problems that everyone is concerned about; but really it is only the tip of the iceberg....

"So, when I began to think about prevention of delinquency, I did not think in terms of making better Ventura schools, increasing our number of half-way houses, or putting a pre-delinquency program in which, goodness knows, I don't know what that is anyway. I can't point kids out and say I think that a kid is going to be a delinquent, so I think he ought to go here; and even if I could pick him out, where would I send him? Because as soon as I separate him and isolate him from the mainstream, he immediately begins to think that he is different, and that kind of difference is not usually good.

"I was an expert in my own pargen area where we had walls and everything like that, but in this public school, they were loose; they were running all over the place, and I wasn't used to that. They said: 'Can you do anything?' I said, 'Sure, sure, I can give advice.' 'What advice do you have?' I said, 'Well, the first bit of advice I would like



to give you (remembering what the girls had told me in reform school) is stop failing these kids'. 'We can't do that.' 'Why not?' I replied, and they said, 'Because we are running a school. You mean just don't fail them?' I said, 'No, no.' It's a difficult concept for school people to grasp. I found that not only school people but other people have trouble grasping it. I don't imply that you should give a child credit for something he hasn't done successfully. On the other hand, if he doesn't do anything, don't fail him. The main thing not to do is to label him a failure. That is the critical point and that is so hard for school people to do because the whole tradition is built upon labelling children failures. I say it may be a tradition that was valid at one time, but it is not anymore.

"So I came back and back to the place where I was beginning, and I said maybe I should really try to do something in these schools. These teachers weren't kidding; they had a rough job, dealing with a lot of these kids. So, they began to say, 'Okay, we won't fail them, but that is not enough obviously.' And obviously it isn't. You have got to do some other things. So one of the things I said was that we had to motivate a child to learn, then you can teach him something that makes sense to him. They said, 'That is okay but how do we motivate them?' I threw it out and said 'We have got to make friends with them.' So they said, 'Well, how do you do it in school?' There are problems doing it in the school; it's not easy. It will be the biggest problem of any school that attempts to go into our program. How do you make friends with these kids?

"The second point is, of course, why you should do it. Many people still say it will spoil them or it will pamper them, or it will be permissive; these are all terms. But look beyond the terms. Look at someone who has got something that works and don't worry about the terms. And what works, I've found, is to be friendly with the kids. The best way to be friendly is to talk to the kids. The teachers said, 'They won't talk.' So I said, 'We have to change the way the class is set up.' My next statement was really difficult for people to grasp. I said, 'You have to get the kids in a circle.' Rows of chairs have been studied and it was found that it is the most inefficient way to teach. Anyway you do it, other than the regular way, is better. So I moved the chairs into a circle and got the kids talking. Then the teachers said, 'How long do we do it?' I said, 'Every day forever.' They really weren't looking for that answer. I think they were looking for 'once in the fall and once in the spring' and there is a big disparity between the two.

"...It doesn't make any difference what you talk about. Anything that interests you and your students is a valid subject...."

(From an address given in 1972 at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri)

## B. CONFLICT BETWEEN LAW & MORALITY: CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

### Goals and Relevance

1. The Christian recognizes the supremacy of God's law over human law. Peacemakers have often committed civil disobedience in trying to make peace. But how should a Christian peacemaker operate? What criteria for action should he use, when he believes a human law violates God's law?

2. To help participants understand the relationship between law and morality, and that the kind of Christian patriotism described in the previous section may necessitate choosing, in the name of moral values, to disobey a particular law at a particular time.

3. By using "The Trial of the Catonsville Nine," to help participants come to grips with civil disobedience as a personal choice. The method suggested puts them in the position of choosing to commit or not to commit civil disobedience themselves, in judging whether to obey the judge's charge to the jury to find the defendants guilty.

### Methodology and Content - "Trial of the Catonsville Nine"

#### 1. Directions

a. Play the last 20 minutes (summation statements plus the defendants' open discussion with the judge) or 40 minutes (adds 20 minutes of testimony) for class. Then, after repeating Judge Thomson's charges to the jury, divide the class into juries of no more than 10 persons each, so that all can talk. Have a leader in each jury who can act as "foreman."

b. The foreman should  
(1) remind them of the judge's charges and that if they disregard them, they are breaking the law. This is what they have to come to grips with, whether they, too, will commit an act of civil disobedience and find the defendants not-guilty.

(2) have them write down on a card, after a minute or two of thought, their verdict; collect them and count them; report the situation to the group and turn them loose to persuade the minority to come their way. Your job is to come to a unanimous verdict, if possible, in 35 minutes. Take a final vote at the end of the 35 minutes and report that back to the judge (the leader of the whole session).

(3) if the whole group votes "not-guilty" at the start, then try to persuade them otherwise.

c. This has been used quite effectively with 10th graders and up, but it requires briefing ahead of time on the basic issues. Have participants read the "Catonsville Statement" before class, since it is similar to much of the testimony that is presented on the first two sides of the record which can be omitted, for the sake of time).

2. Read Judge Thomson's charges to the

jury:

a. "The jury may not decide the case on the basis of conscience, but solely on the basis of the facts presented in this court by both sides."

b. "The law does not recognize religious conviction or some higher law as justification for the commission of a crime, no matter how good that motive may be."

c. "The law does not permit jurors to be governed by sympathy, prejudice, or public opinion."

d. "Your sole duty is to ascertain the truth."

3. Basic issues emerging from this trial:

a. The role of law in society:

(1) the prosecution: "our problems will not get better by those who break the law; in fact, they will get worse, for law is the very foundation of civilized society"

(2) the defense: law is only an instrument for the protection and promotion of basic values. When it ceases to serve these values, it must be broken. Yes, order is necessary; but in fact, as Dan Berrigan states: "Public order is a massive, institutionalized disorder. We say killing is disorder; life and gentleness and community and unselfishness is the only order we recognize..."

b. Is "sincerely" enough? Can "motive" be a defense?

(1) the prosecution: sincerity is not enough, for if it were a defense, then anyone could do anything, so long as he claims to be sincere in his convictions. The result: chaos.

(2) the defense: motive must be a factor, or else you're not talking about a human action (an "autopsy," if motive is not considered). But there are standards to which the defendants are also appealing, and this is the whole basis of civil disobedience.

(a) legally, if a law is unjust in itself, that is, if it is "basically offensive to fundamental values or the Constitution" (Fortas), then it should be broken (when government becomes destructive of the ends for which it is set up, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, says the Declaration of Independence)

(b) morally, a Christian must be responsive to God's law first, and then to positive law, so long as it does not contradict the higher law.

(3) Question: Are the defen-

dants, "guilty or innocent of crime"?

(4) Question: Is the judge's charge to the jury conducive to the "common good" & consistent with the above understanding of "law," in both the legal and the moral sense?

c. Shouldn't the defendants have "gone through channels"?

(1) prosecution: yes, order is the foundation of society

(2) defense: yes, but the defendants did all those things and still the evil persists. Too much disorder is not our problem; rather, it is too much order and too little independent and conscientious thought and action.

d. Can the destruction of some property be justified on the basis that property is merely instrumental and that when it ceases to serve human needs, it should be destroyed?

(1) the prosecution: no

(2) the defense: yes, for persons are ends in themselves, not things. Thus the napalming of files that exist for the destruction of human life is justified on the basis of stopping the napalming of people.

4. A stimulating contrast on the limits on civil disobedience is with Abe Fortas, Concerning Dissent & Civil Disobedience, and Howard Zinn, Disobedience & Democracy: Nine Fallacies in Law and Order (a refutation, point by point, of Fortas).

a. Is civil disobedience restricted to "unjust laws" only, or can it be extended to breaking "just laws" when the situation is grave enough and there is no apparent alternative for changing the situation?

(1) Fortas: unjust laws only  
(2) Zinn: the second alternative

How do you define "unjust laws"? Martin Luther King's Letter from a Birmingham City Jail lists the following criteria:

(a) "A man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God" is a just law.

(b) "Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust."

(c) "An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself."

(d) "An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote."

b. Should the register accept punishment for his civil disobedience?

(1) Fortas (and Gandhi): yes

(2) Zinn: no. That is accepting the government's verdict that you were wrong.

c. Should civil disobedience exclude violence?

(1) Fortas (and Gandhi, Berrigan): yes

(2) Zinn: no, but make sure that the violence does not cloud the issue; is directed at property preferably than at persons; is a last resort; and is aimed at saving lives.

5. Preparation for the "Trial."

Because of the volatile nature of many of these questions, it might be well to proceed inductively. That is, give the students (especially younger ones) some opportunity to determine the kind of legal system they would like to see. Use a preference sheet and have them check those attributes they would want to have in their legal system. Record the results with the kind of legal system being advocated by the defense in the "Trial."

#### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Howard Zinn, Disobedience & Democracy: Nine Fallacies in Law and Order (Vintage, 1969).

Abe Fortas, Concerning Dissent & Civil Disobedience (Signet Books, 1968).

Daniel Berrigan, S.J., The Trial of the Catonsville Nine (Bantam Books, 1971).

The record can be obtained at Caldman Records, Inc., 505 8th Ave., N.Y. 10018, and may be borrowed from the Institute for Education in Peace and Justice.

Staughton Lynd (ed.), Non-Violence in America: A Documentary History (Bobbs-Merrill)—contains, among other selections, Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" and Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham City Jail."

Mahatma Gandhi, Non-Violent Resistance (Boston: Beacon Press). An Autobiography: The Story of my Experiments with Truth (Boston: Beacon Press).

Hugh Bedau (ed.), Civil Disobedience: Theory and Practice. A collection of essays focusing on Martin Luther King's actions, on war/draft resistance, and on the theoretical justification (moral and legal) of civil disobedience.

James Finn (ed.), Protest: Pacifism and Politics (Vintage Books), a series of interviews with such persons as Dorothy Day, Joan Baez, Dan Berrigan.

James Douglass, "My Own Resistance," a 2-hour tape describing the civil disobedience campaign in Hawaii against U.S. Bombing in Indochina. Available at our Institute.

See "Gospel Call to Peace and Justice," "The Meaning of Peace," and "Today's Peacemakers."

To Be a Just Man (prepared by the Office on World Justice and Peace, Milwaukee, Wisc.). A 4-module curriculum on what it means to be a just man, including a good series of selections from Gandhi on civil disobedience and good suggestions for discussion.

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

Racism in this country has been and is a form of institutional violence, a tool of repression and hatred and a source of deep and worsening conflict. Any study of peace and justice must include a study of racism. The goals of this section would be as follows:

1. To understand precisely what racism is.
2. To see racism as a white problem.
3. To raise the level of awareness of the extent of institutional racism in this country and how it works.
4. To become specifically more aware of how racism works in the institution of education.
5. To help teachers and students begin to come to a realization about what they can do to change the course of racism in their own lives and in the institutions of the U.S.
6. To help teachers deal more effectively with both black and white students and with the conflicts that arise within the school situation.
7. To offer suggestions about how to change attitudes in the area of race.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

### 1. Introduction

The first step would be to explore where the students are in their thinking about the race problem. This could be done by setting up a role-play situation in which the students pair up--one becomes a citizen of another country, the other an American. The foreigner asks the American, "What is the race problem all about in the U.S.? What is the real cause of the race problem?" The pairs could then change roles so each student gets a chance to try to answer the question. Then discuss with them what they were saying and how they felt about it. This technique could be used with 7th-12th grade students and perhaps middle grade students. Have someone write down the answers to the question and run them off for students to have in written form. Eventually this investigation by students should lead them to the idea that white racism is the basic cause of the race problem.

Another tool for opening up the topic might be this simulation (sometimes considered controversial) and applicable for all age groups. The idea is to simulate an oppressed minority for a day in your own classroom, based on some physical characteristic, etc. Suggestion: "glasses make the upper classes." Contact lenses don't count. All others sit in a cramped place in the class, don't get a chance to speak, do work at play time, enter and leave last. Is this a dangerous idea? With older children, you may not want to tell them

what you are doing until afterward, though younger children can know in advance and still feel the effects. Be sure to ask the privileged class how they felt about oppressing the minority.

The movie Eye of the Storm visualizes this simulation very graphically for a third-grade class.

2. What racism is and why it is a white problem.

Ask students to define racism and give examples. Have them look up definitions. For a definition of "racism"-- "any activity by individuals, groups, institutions, or cultures that treats human beings unjustly because of color and rationalizes that treatment by attributing to them undesirable biological, psychological, social or cultural characteristics." (Robert Terry, For Whites Only, p. 41) Another definition is the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's working definition-- "any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color."

Racism, therefore, means that a self-designated superior group imposes unjust restrictions on another group of a different color and has the power to back up those restrictions.

Working from these ideas, have students discuss whether or not blacks of any other minority can be racist in this country. In other words, do they have the power to effectively treat whites unjustly? In order to understand what "power" really means, have the class read The Blacks of Choco, describing a situation in which whites are numerically in the minority but have the power.

### Prejudice--

Prejudice is a series of attitudes that bolster racism; a pattern of hostility in interpersonal relations directed to an individual or a group of individuals. Prejudice is being "down" on something we're not "up on." It is thinking ill of others without sufficient reason. It is a feeling either favorable or unfavorable toward another person or thing, not based upon actual experience.

Have students brainstorm, perhaps in small groups, on their impressions of another racial group. Follow that with brainstorming about where these impressions come from (movies, books, parents' attitudes, etc.). Then discuss what they've come up with in terms of stereotyping. This could be done with elementary through high school age students. Consult "Black Studies" unit in "Global Awareness" (pp. 161-64) for other ideas for children on language and color images as related to race.

Consult The Nature of Prejudice by Gordon Allport (Anchor Books, 1958) for ideas on how prejudice is expressed



and how people deal with their own prejudice.

It is important again to distinguish between racism (which includes the element of power) and prejudice (attitudes). Obviously, anyone can be prejudiced, but when we're talking about a problem like racism in this country, we are talking about a problem within white society. If the problem is to be solved peacefully, it is up to white society to do the changing. Some good readings on this, especially for the teacher are Institutional Racism, For Whites Only, The White Problem, and Why Black Power (all cited in the bibliography).

Consider the following quote from the National Education Association:

"All white individuals in our society are racists. Even if a white is totally free from all-conscious racial prejudices, he remains a racist, for he receives benefits distributed by a white racist society through its institutions. Our institutional and cultural processes are so arranged as to automatically benefit whites, just because they are white.

"It is essential for whites to recognize - that they receive most of these racist benefits automatically, unconsciously, and unintentionally."

--from Education & Racism, National Education Association. 1973

This is a very difficult concept for most white people to deal with. If a person or group of people are to evaluate the idea incorporated into the quote above and examine its ramifications in their own lives and in the institutions in which they work, they might be helped by considering what racism has cost them as white people. Some resources for this are Racism in America and How to Combat It and work done by Dr. Robert Moore of the Interracial Books for Children and Foundation for Change staff (address in bibliography). An audio-visual resource, especially geared toward educators, is a 20 minute film strip and cassette/record called From Racism to Pluralism. This film strip is a hard-hitting assessment of racism in education and the part that we all play in it. We have found it helpful with groups who have done some racial awareness work, and are ready to accept the basic premise of racism as a white problem; however, we feel it is too difficult for groups who are undergoing an initial exposure to an exploration of racism.

See enclosed sheet "Definitions of Racism" for a way of pulling together what we are saying in a sheet that could be used with students.

### 3. How Institutional Racism Works

Institutional racism, a set of practices through which social goods and services are distributed inequitably, has been documented by the Kerner Report as the essential ingredient in American racist practice. In other words, the institutions of this country have used race as a criterion, and through them blacks and other

minorities have been assured of sub-standard education, employment, housing, medical care, legal assistance, consumer and credit assistance, and recreational programs.

In order for students to understand the scope of institutional racism in this country, it would be good for them to do their own research. See enclosed "Inventory on Racism" for guidelines for research in business (for high school students). See also the enclosed TV research sheet. (This was prepared for 9th graders, but could easily be adapted for use in the middle grades.)

Middle grade students could do research on one aspect of the retailing business in this country. They could research toys, and note how many dolls, puzzles, storybooks, toy boxes with children's pictures on them have images of non-white people. They also might research a group called Shindana Toys, operating out of Watts in Los Angeles, which is striving to put out toys representing Black Americans which are ethnically accurate. Children could, for example, ask store managers or department managers why there aren't more toys with Black people on them or other non-white people.

It is important to distinguish between direct or overt institutional racism and indirect or covert institutional racism. The direct variety is relatively easy to spot, because it means using race per se as the factor which subordinates another person or group, or which deprives him/her of an equal opportunity. Example: a savings and loan institution has a definite policy of not lending money to minorities.

The indirect variety is much harder to spot because it is sometimes unintentional, but it has the same effect of subordinating and depriving someone of an equal opportunity. Using the same example as above: a savings and loan institution has a policy of considering anyone for a loan who fulfills certain requirements; such as, not having a police record, and having a certain amount of collateral. This policy does not openly discriminate against blacks or other minorities, but since blacks are more likely to have police records and not as likely to have the necessary collateral (because of racism and residual effects of racism in other institutions) the net result is the same as the direct racism--the black person still does not get the loan.

A good source on this is Racism in America and How to Combat It (pp. 6-11).

To clarify this point with students, it might be helpful to prepare a sheet with pairs of practices listed--one a direct kind of racism, the other an indirect kind. Then see if the students can think of ways to combat the indirect variety (the real challenge).

Another technique is to use the worksheet enclosed entitled "Are These Racist



**Racist Practices/Attitudes:** which refers to practices and attitudes within education that could be considered indirect forms of racism. Similar sheets could be constructed for other institutions.

An excellent source for teaching ideas on institutional racism is material put out by Foundation for Change, cited in the bibliography, which covers a wide range of institutions (housing, education, law enforcement, employment, media, courts, prisons.) Reading for teachers and upper grade students—Institutional Racism.

Another resource is a slide-tape presentation (20 min. long) entitled Institutional Racism, which traces the history of racism as it has been perpetrated against Blacks in this country, then considers the existence of racism in three specific institutions today—employment, housing, and education. This material is available from our Institute.

One of the points which this slide show addresses in the employment question is the question of Affirmative Action programs, especially in the form of quotas. We find this to be generally a helpful way to get people to talk about their feeling about quotas. Another resource on this point is a sheet included at the end of this section called "Of Myths and Realities"—which attempts very briefly to debunk some of the myths about how good things are now for minority people in this country.

#### 4. Racism in the School

One method of becoming more aware of the extent of racism within the education system is to use the enclosed "School Inventory." (Consult Foundation for Change newsletters on education and textbooks for more ideas on this.) A similar inventory or check-list might be helpful to examine personal attitudes or patterns of life with regard to race. (See sample enclosed.) Obviously, the personal attitudes of teachers, administrators, and students have a great deal to do with the racial atmosphere in the school.

**Curriculum**—(The ideas here refer to social studies, especially American history, as a prime example, but the principles apply to other subject areas as well.)

American history as traditionally taught in our schools has been "white" history, with everything taught solely from a white perspective. Consult Dick Gregory, No More Lies (Harper & Row), for some witty and penetrating insights into this. As a starting point for discussion:

"...a system that led me to believe that there was no significance to my existence because there was no such evidence of black people in the curriculum must be suspect... The system will tell us about our oppression but nothing about our heritage; it will not tell us who we are but it will tell us who we are not." (Jack

Kirkland, Black Studies, Washington U., in Proud, Dec., 1971, p.22). A good movie resource: Black History; Lost, Strayed, or Stolen. Take a "black history" test (see enclosed sample, p.164). Explain that the purpose for this is not a matter of pointing up how many isolated facts we do not know, but rather to give an indication of how much about black history is purposely omitted in most history texts and classes. (also, this experience should make teachers more aware of how most tests and means of measurements are based on white standards).

Examine textbooks for pictures. Are there any blacks? Other minorities? How are they portrayed? Consider these textbooks statements (from Foundation for Change newsletter "Test Your Textbooks.") (Perhaps a transparency of these or others like them for use in the classroom.)

a. Thanksgiving is a day of mourning for native Americans.

b. Harriet Tubman was the greatest hero of American History.

c. The U.S. government plotted a war against Mexico in order to steal its lands.

d. The U.S. is not helping Puerto Rico to independence but is helping itself to Puerto Rico.

Do the statements seem biased? From whose viewpoint? Aren't our textbooks really biased now? For example: Columbus discovered America."—from whose viewpoint is that an accurate statement?

Refer to "Black Studies" for more ideas on curriculum. Refer also to Institutional Racism, chps. 3 & 4, and Foundation for Change minority viewpoint newsletters on "Racism in Education" and "Test Your Textbooks."

The Bulletin of the Council on Interracial Books for Children (Vol. 5, #3, 1974) carries an article giving guidelines for analyzing children's books and textbooks for racism and sexism. The Council also has brochures available listing those guidelines. "Ten Quick ways to analyze Children's Books for Racism and Sexism."

#### Atmosphere in the School and Administrative Practices

Examine the classrooms in the school. What kinds of photos and other visuals are up on the bulletin boards? How do these relate to a minority image? Also examine the over-all personnel situation of the school: black administrators? Black teachers? Black maintenance personnel? What kind of image does the racial make-up of the staff present to students, minority or white, about minorities?

What about speakers for assemblies or special programs? Are they ever "experts" from minority groups? (Consult the enclosed sheet "Suggestions for Action" for other ideas.)

Another idea is for schools or school districts to hire someone full-time as an expert in racial matters; in other words, this person would train all new teachers

64

in some kind of racial awareness, would be called upon as a consultant in any and all racial incidents, and would constantly be suggesting and helping to implement ways in which racism could be attacked within that school or district.

#### 5. Conflicts between black and white students: How to deal effectively.

Teachers must examine their own attitudes and actions to make sure they are not thinking and acting in a racist way, which is bound to be coming across to the students. Teachers must not be afraid to discuss the race problem with a mixed class, not just on occasion but constantly, because it is a reality of their everyday existence. Teachers must constantly work on fairness, not being afraid to discipline black students.

Create a climate in the classroom which lessens the conflict situations and promotes more non-violent solutions to them (e.g. less competition in the class). See Part III MUTUAL EDUCATION.

If there is a problem among the students, have them participate in the problem-solving. Have them brainstorm, perhaps in small groups, on two topics:

- a. their impressions of another racial group;
- b. how they got these impressions.

(Same idea cited in the beginning of this section.) Have both black and white students do this. It helps to get attitudes out into the open. Perhaps then they would be more willing to talk about the causes of the conflict. Sometimes an outside facilitator is a help in a situation like this.

#### 6. How to Combat Institutional Racism

To begin to combat racism in himself/herself and in society, a teacher should impress students with the fact that each individual must be a conscious agent for change.

Tactics or strategies may range from dialogue sessions set up to increase understanding (perhaps this could be done among black and white students in a school); to confrontation sessions where whites are really challenged to become aware of themselves and their society as racist; to research on the institutions, companies, school, offices within the neighborhoods of the students (see "Inventory on Racism"); to selective economic pressure, perhaps in the form of boycotts.

All this call for a new consciousness among whites and is admittedly difficult. White people are generally unaware of the harsh realities of racism because they have been unaffected. If they have had any experience with religious discrimination, they could call upon that to aid in their understanding.

This new white consciousness is best described by Robert Terry in For Whites Only:

"The idea of new white consciousness has puzzled many people. A first impression for some is that it is a step backward rather than forward. The emphasis on color, they argue, only serves to perpetuate division. Instead of being color-conscious, we should be color-blind. We need a new human consciousness, not white consciousness...

"Protestations to deny whiteness eliminate neither the fact nor the problem of white privilege. American culture is color-consciousness. We sort people by color, to the advantage of some and detriment of others. To disassociate oneself from whiteness by affirming humanness ignores what whiteness has done and how we continue to benefit from it....

"...color consciousness is a fact of life in America...and recognizing that fact does not in itself make one a racist. Racism is not color-consciousness per se, but how that color consciousness is used by one people against another....

"If we seriously want to eliminate racial injustice in America instead of pretending to ignore color, we must be color-conscious in a radically new way....

"New white consciousness is a bridge concept. The new in the label points to fresh possibilities. We are not totally limited by our past. White is a constant reminder that we still participate in a racist institutions and culture. Consciousness continually reminds us that we need to reconstruct totally our new understanding of who we are and what we ought to do. New white consciousness, then, is a way for us to understand ourselves simultaneously as white racists and creators of injustice."

Strategizing about the future--an exercise for faculty and for students--In small groups, discuss "What should our school be like 25 years from now with regard to the racial atmosphere?" Next step--in order to get there what would be our first five-year plan? Then, what do we do within the next year to facilitate that five-year plan? The key to this exercise is its demand for concrete steps; its implicit realization that "time" is neutral when you're talking about social change. Things don't just happen "if you will be patient."

Note: A small group of teachers in St. Louis has begun to undertake this kind of project and has established a committee to work on ideas to broaden the horizons of children in all-white county schools.

#### 7. Further reflections on teaching about racism

Most of the ideas and suggestions here consider racism as it applies to blacks. We have done this because in St. Louis the race problem is mainly a white/black problem. Obviously other racial

minority groups in the US feel the effects of racism. However, our main tenet—that racism is a white problem—remains the same. Modify methodological suggestions to other groups. Some specific attention need be given to the Indians because no matter where students live, they have been forming ideas about Indians through American history and through the media.

#### More on American Indians:

Have students draw pictures which represent their concept of Indians. Have them write down words and ideas which come to their minds immediately when thinking of Indians. This could lead to a discussion of stereotyping. Talk about the image of American Indians on TV "Westerns" and in movies. Students could also research the 1973 confrontation at Wounded Knee and perhaps build a role-play based on their findings. We have attached an annotated bibliography. Finally examine the portrayal of American Indians in your history texts—pictures, words, etc.

Two resources for evaluating resources from an Indian perspective are I have Spoken: American History Through the Voices of the Indians, Virginia I. Armstrong—a new way of doing American History; \* Textbooks and the American Indian, Indian Historical Press, Inc., 1970, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, Cal. 94117—an excellent critique of current books, with criteria for good ones.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

##### Racial Awareness

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. U.S. Riot Commission Report (Kerner Report). Washington, Government Printing Office, 1968.—gives overall view of racism in U.S.

Stalvey, Lois. The Education of a WASP. Bantam, New York, 1971—personal view of a white person coming to a realization of the realities of racism—readable for junior and senior high students.

King, Larry. Confessions of a White Racist. (Viking Press, 1971)—understandable for high school students.

Knowles, Louis and Kenneth Prewitt. Institutional Racism in America. (Prentice-Hall, N.J., 1969)—considers the sub-education of black children and the mis-education of white children; also gives a good idea of the scope of institutional racism in the U.S.

Terry, Robert. For Whites Only. (Bardman Publishing Co., Detroit, 1970)—aimed at helping whites see the basic problem and what can be done about it. Somewhat difficult reading.

Kozol, Jonathan. Death at an Early Age. (Bantam, New York, 1967)—for high school students; talks about a teacher's dawning awareness of hostility toward Black students in a Boston school.

Silberman, Charles. Crisis in Black and White (Random House, New York, 1964)—especially Chapters 1 and 9.

Racism in America and How to Combat it, 1970, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, available through Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.—a good place to start a study of racism.

Foundation for Change materials (1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023)

a) Series of newsletters, "Minority Outlook on Current Issues"—topics such as Jobs, Housing, Education, Police, Justice system, Prison, News Media.

b) Excellent four-page annotated bibliography "White Racism in Public School Education Today: Sources for Awareness and Action." Joan Brucker, Sept., 1972.

c) "Fact Sheets on Institutional Racism"—lots of statistics, well documented.

Monte, Anita. Racism, in "Problems of American Society" series, Gerald Leinwand, general editor. Pocket Books, New York, 1972.

Grier, William and Price Cobbs. Black Rage. New York, Bantam Books, 1968.—"a graphic view of the crippling effects of white culture on Black Americans trying to be human beings."

Barndt, Joseph. Why Black Power. (Friendship Press, Cincinnati, Ohio) "The White Problem", Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, 287 Park Ave., South, New York 10010)

"The Blacks of Choco," essay by Thomas Sanders (13 pages—order from American Universities Field Staff, Inc., 3 Lebanon St., Hanover, New Hampshire 03755. 25¢).

Global Dimensions—March, 1972—"International Dimensions to Racial and Ethnic Problems", put out by the Center for Teaching International Relations, Graduate School of International Studies, U. of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

Proud—periodical on black viewpoints, black issues, black culture. 4221 Lindell, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

The Argus and The American—Black newspapers in St. Louis, to help students understand the black viewpoint. "A good technique would be to compare coverage on local news stories that have to do with the black situation in the white-oriented and black newspapers."

#### RACISM IN EDUCATION

Bosmajian, Haig A. "The Language of White Racism." College English, 31 (1969), 263-72.—an analysis of racism in white speech, in vocabulary and in rhetoric.

Clark, Kenneth B. Dark Ghetto—Dilemmas of Social Power. (New York, Harper & Row, 1965)—especially Chapter 6 on inequitable processes in black schools.

Coles, Robert. Teachers and the Children of Poverty. (Washington, the Potomac Institute, 1970)—psychiatrist's view of



teaching disadvantaged children.

Fish, Kenneth. "More 'Soul' Needed in White Teachers," Clearinghouse, 46 (1972), 502-5. —suggested activities for growth and cultural understanding by white teachers.

AEP pamphlet RACE AND EDUCATION, (Oliver and Newman)—especially the fictionalized account of "The Battle of Stonehill High" on conflicts within the school; readable for junior and senior high students.

Stalvey, Lois Mark. Getting Ready. (Bantam Books, New York, 1974)—penetrating look at racism in a big city school system.

#### BIOGRAPHIES

Malcolm X, Autobiography of Malcolm X (NY, Grove Press, 1965)—imperative reading for an understanding of what it means to be black, and the message of Black Power.

Maya Angelou, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (NY, Bantam, 1971)—what it means to be a black woman.

Griffin, John Howard. Black Like Me—good for beginnings of understanding, especially with white students.

#### FILMS

EYE OF THE STORM (ABC Films)—an experiment in a classroom to make white children aware of what discrimination means. (Public Library).

THE BLACK AMERICAN DREAM (Time-Life)—overview of black power movement

BLACK AND WHITE: UPTIGHT (BFA)—analysis of prejudices; makes some good points; needs a lot of discussion.

BLACK HISTORY: LOST, STRAYED OR STOLEN (Avanti films)—excellent analysis of what is left out of most history books, narrated by Bill Cosby (Public Library).

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN—(Brandon)—animated version of examination of racial and cultural differences, all age groups.

AN EVEN CHANCE (Foundation for Change, cited in Bibliography)—spotlights institutional racism.

IF THERE WEREN'T ANY BLACKS, YOU'D HAVE TO INVENT THEM (Mass Media)—morality play—difficult, but could be used with high school students.

Consult BLACK STUDIES IN GLOBAL AWARENESS SECTION for more suggestions

#### Of Myths and Realities

"Why all this commotion over minorities? Everyone knows things are getting better. They're getting all the breaks!"

...In 1970 the average sentence for income tax evasion for whites was 12.8 months; for blacks it was 28.6 months.--NY Times 9/27/72

...In 1974, of 94 Federal attorneys (all appointed, 2 were black, 2 are Spanish-surnamed, and one is Asian-American.--U.S. Attorney's Office, Jan. '74

...Of approximately 700 Federal Court judges, 28 are Black. Of 16,000 full-time state court judges, 258 are Black.--Judge G. Crockett, Wayne U. Law Review, 11/72

...State troopers, 1972: only 5 states have more than 10 Black troopers. 10 states have none.--NY Times 4/17/72

...Since 1930 over half of convicted rapists have been white, but of the 455 executed, 405 were Black, 48 were white, 2 were other races.--Statistical Abstract of the United States, '72

...The American Medical Association has 1 black among its 242-member house of delegates.--A.M.A., 1974

...In 1970, non-white minorities accounted for 2.7% of bank officials and managers.--Economic Priorities Report, Sept-Oct./72

...Nationwide, non-white minorities comprise less than 1% of the staff of newspaper editors, writers, reporters, and photographers.--American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1972

...Nationally in 1970-71, Blacks held 8.1% of the teaching positions and 5.7% of the principalships in the American public schools.--NEA, 1972

...Black men with college diplomas earn less than white men with high school diplomas.--Ebony, Dec., 1972

...Two seats of the 1,366 seat New York Stock Exchange are owned by non-whites. One seat of the 650 seat American Stock Exchange belongs to a Black firm. Public Information Offices, NY and American Stock Exchanges, 7/75.

Source: "Fact Sheets on Institutional Racism," Foundation for Change.--ACTION AGAINST APATHY, P.O. 11435, Clayton, Mo. 63105, Jan. '74.

PERSONAL CHECK-LIST  
(Junior and Senior High School Level)

(Geared for use by whites, but could be adapted for use by minority students.)

1. What is the approximate distance between my house and the nearest resident of another race? \_\_\_\_\_
2. When I see a black person in my neighborhood, what do I think he/she is there for? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do the members of the organizations or teams to which I belong include persons of another color? (Write down how many.) religious organizations \_\_\_\_\_; scouting \_\_\_\_\_; sports \_\_\_\_\_; other \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do I meet any persons of another race in my daily life? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Was the latest news story I heard or read about a person or persons of another color "good news" or "bad news"? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How would I feel if I were admitted to the emergency room of the hospital and the examining physician were Black? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Would I want to be represented in court by a black lawyer? \_\_\_\_\_  
Would I feel my chances of getting a fair trial were better, worse, or the same if there were more blacks than whites on the jury of any given case? \_\_\_\_\_  
Would I feel any differently if the crime I was accused of committing was against a black person? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Approximately how many blacks do I see in the grocery store where I usually shop? Are any employed by that store? \_\_\_\_\_
9. In the following professions, I know personally or know of the indicated number of blacks:  
 policemen \_\_\_\_\_ ministers/priests \_\_\_\_\_ bank tellers \_\_\_\_\_  
 elected officials \_\_\_\_\_ physicians \_\_\_\_\_ dentists \_\_\_\_\_  
 baseball managers (professional) \_\_\_\_\_ business owners \_\_\_\_\_  
 school administrators \_\_\_\_\_ teachers \_\_\_\_\_ lawyers \_\_\_\_\_  
 TV newsmen \_\_\_\_\_ librarians \_\_\_\_\_ plumbers \_\_\_\_\_  
 department store salesmen/women \_\_\_\_\_
10. Could a black person buy the following items in my area? Appropriate  
 greeting cards \_\_\_\_\_ soul food \_\_\_\_\_ black dolls \_\_\_\_\_  
 cosmetics and toiletries \_\_\_\_\_ appropriate children's books \_\_\_\_\_  
 Black periodicals: JET \_\_\_\_\_ EBONY \_\_\_\_\_ ESSENCE \_\_\_\_\_  
 PROUD (St. Louis area) \_\_\_\_\_



SCHOOL INVENTORY SHEET  
(Senior High School Level and Faculties)

Curriculum

1. Are all students assigned to read newspapers and magazines that give the minorities' point of view? yes ☐ no ☐
2. Do you use multi-racial instructional materials in the classrooms? yes ☐ no ☐
3. Are minority parents and educators consulted in effective use of multi-racial instructional materials? yes ☐ no ☐
4. Do your social studies classes discuss the irony of our Declaration of Independence being prepared by slaveowners? yes ☐ no ☐
5. Are your libraries equipped to aid students in researching a topic from a minority's point of view? yes ☐ no ☐

Teachers and Staff

6. Number of teachers \_\_\_\_\_ number of minority teachers \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of non-teaching staff \_\_\_\_\_ minority members of non-teaching staff \_\_\_\_\_
7. Are minority teachers given positions of authority in the school? yes ☐ no ☐
8. Do teachers expect equal academic effort by minority children? yes ☐ no ☐
9. Are racism awareness workshops for teachers and administrators regularly held in the school? yes ☐ no ☐
10. If there are obvious racial tensions within the school, do teachers feel free to discuss them with students in a classroom situation? yes ☐ no ☐

Students

11. Are minority students encouraged to "be themselves" even if different from most of their fellow students? yes ☐ no ☐
12. Where there is ability grouping, do students in the lower groups regularly advance into higher groups? yes ☐ no ☐
13. Do students take active part in discussion and debate of current minority rights issues? yes ☐ no ☐

School Board

14. Does the school board have an organized program to overcome any evidence of racism within the system? yes ☐ no ☐
15. Does the school board speak publicly in behalf of integration in housing and employment? yes ☐ no ☐
16. Does the school board reflect the racial and economic makeup of the community it serves? yes ☐ no ☐

Parents and Community

17. Do all parents, regardless of race and economic background, feel welcome at your school? yes ☐ no ☐
18. Do guidance counselors have evening schedules for daytime working parents? yes ☐ no ☐
19. Are there regular attempts at parent education in areas of new curriculum and policy decisions? yes ☐ no ☐

70

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION (for teachers and administrators)

1. Analyze textbooks in use in your school carefully for examples of racism.
  - Missouri Commission on Human Rights has published a rating of most textbooks.
  - See Foundation for Change pamphlet "Test Your Textbooks"
  - Consult Peace Institute for further suggestions
2. Hold racial awareness workshops regularly for faculty (also for parent and student groups.) Two groups who would be able to conduct such workshops:
  - Committee for Action thru Education--contact Helen Delaney-- (work: 725-9900, home: 721-5227)
  - Action Against Apathy--contact Roni Branding--831-3710 (Peace Institute would also be a contact for this--Kathy McGinnis)
3. Actively seek black speakers for assembly programs and classroom presentations (keeping in mind that there are blacks qualified to handle areas other than just poverty and crime.) Possible resources:
  - Black Studies Institute at Washington University
  - Institute for Black Studies (725-4044)
  - Congressman William Clay's office (367-0930)
  - Representative Jet Banks's Information Center (533-1900)
  - Afro-Asian Institute at Saint Louis University
  - (Check similar resources in your area.)
4. Seriously consider how your school's purchasing power is used in relation to a perpetuation of racism. Project Equality is an agency to help you evaluate your own hiring and promotional practices and those of your suppliers. The Project Equality contact person in St. Louis is Fr. William Hutchinson, St. Matthews Church 531-6443
5. Analyze and critically evaluate testing procedures that are a part of your school's program: e.g., entrance exams and I.Q. test scores. Are they racially biased?
  - Resource on I.Q. testing is the Black Studies Institute at Washington University, St. Louis. The Director, Dr. Robert Williams has done a lot of research and has developed a Black I.Q. test.
6. Actively recruit black teachers and staff. (Also, think in terms of student teachers.)
7. Increase the amount of books and periodicals available in your school library that would give a minority point of view. Periodicals include Ebony, Jet, Proud, Argus, and ~~THE AMERICAN~~ THE AMERICAN.
8. Investigate the possibilities of some kind of exchange programs with student groups in black high schools.
9. Encourage special action projects within social studies classes or Social Action groups; e.g., setting up some kind of news monitoring service to see who reports the news, how items about blacks and minorities are reported, etc.
10. Take notice of the pictures and bulletin boards and other visual images around the school. What kind of image do they portray?

## ARE THESE RACIST PRACTICES/ATTITUDES?

1. I.Q. test scores are a fairly accurate tool for predicting what a student's performance level will be.

2. There is no need to actively recruit teachers. Teachers will be accepted as they apply, based on their qualifications, regardless of race.

3. In terms of raw intelligence, black students are genetically inferior to white students.

4. In schools which are largely white schools, there should be more whites on the basketball team because white players are easier to identify with for the majority of the student body.

5. Most American History textbooks now do an adequate job of covering the issues that are most important in black people's history--such as, slavery and the civil rights movement in the 20th Century.

6. Suppliers are chosen strictly on a cost and quality basis; if black suppliers can match cost and quality on items with other companies, we as school administrators will do business with them.

7. If there are only a few black students or none at all in our school, there is no need to be anxious about hiring black teachers or staff or calling in black educators as consultants.

8. Black students drop out of high school more often than whites because they come from backgrounds which are academically and culturally deprived.

9. Black students should be discouraged from always grouping together in the cafeteria, the gym, lounges, etc.

NOTE: These statements are geared mainly toward administrators, but could easily be used with faculties, and have been also used with high school students.

## INVENTORY OF RACISM HOW TO LOOK FOR INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

### Employment:

What percentage of workers are black? white? male? female? at each job level?

Where are openings announced?

Does the company use or have an employment center in the ghetto?

What kind of application is used? Does it contain discriminatory and/or unnecessary questions?

Who does the interviewing, blacks or whites?

What are the salaries at each job level? Are they uniform among employees at each level?

How are people promoted within the company?

Who ride together to work? Who eat lunch together? Do employees belong to social clubs, etc. outside of company where company business gets done?

What kinds of facilities are there for workers? recreational clubs? teams? Where do they play? Where are company picnics held? Who come?

Are tests used to screen job applicants? Are tests equitable for blacks and whites?

What are employment benefits?

Is entry possible at all levels or must everyone come up through the ranks?

Are Black Suppliers and Services used? scavengers? exterminators? janitorial services? office supplies? accounting? lawyers? doctors?

### Investments:

What property is owned? Is property rented? for how much? What are policies of firms renting in areas here discussed? Other investments?

### Advertising:

What company is employed? Models employed? images projected? of products? company? society? Are black images projected in black media or in all media?

### Unions:

Does institution hire union employees? Is union discriminatory? Is recruitment through union? Apprenticeships available? for whom? How does union bank? Who runs union? How does union relate to the black community? Does the union have black stewards? black officers?

What image is created by company? Contents of bulletin boards? Menus in restaurants? Pictures on the walls?

# T.V. RESEARCH SHEET (for use by middle grades thru high school)

The following questions are intended to guide you in doing some research on the television shows you watch in the next week. The purpose of this research is to help all of us see what kind of images are portrayed of blacks and other minority groups on T.V. shows.

List the shows you watch and then answer the following questions:

1. Who are the main characters? (Name them for each show.)  
 White? \_\_\_\_\_ Black, Mexican-American, Indian or other minority \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Total numbers in each group)

2. Who are major supporting characters? (Again, name them.)  
 White? \_\_\_\_\_ Black, Mexican-American, Indian or other minority \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Total numbers again.)

3. Commercials--List the products for which you see commercials, and the number of times a product is advertised.

Total number of commercials \_\_\_\_\_

Number of commercials with minority characters? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Make special note if any of these minority characters are characters other than blacks.)

4. Newscasters: National news: Whites \_\_\_\_\_  
 Minorities \_\_\_\_\_  
 Local news: Whites \_\_\_\_\_  
 Minorities \_\_\_\_\_

Anchorman on news shows: Whites \_\_\_\_\_  
 Minorities \_\_\_\_\_

(Note the networks which have minority newscasters, and again note if there are any minority representatives other than blacks.)

5. Taking a current news item like the energy crisis issue, do the news shows you see make an attempt to get the viewpoints of any of the following groups: (Note number of times) (Update issue)

Jews \_\_\_\_\_ Mexican-Americans \_\_\_\_\_ Blacks \_\_\_\_\_

Arabs \_\_\_\_\_ Indians \_\_\_\_\_

(Note: We are speaking of Americans who fall into these categories.)

6. How would you describe the Indian characters you see on T.V. shows or T.V. movies? (Name the shows and movies.)

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

A. Of all the groups in our country which have suffered the brunt of institutional violence, one of the largest is women. As women's awareness of our history heightens, we need to provide an atmosphere for our students which permits careful and candid reflection on their own lives, and their free discovery of themselves and who they would like to be.

B. A curriculum of peace and justice includes the women who have made contributions in all fields of study. Furthermore, it includes an examination of the feminist movement. Most importantly, though, peace and justice requires that we scrutinize the environment we provide for our students, that we scrutinize the way we live, and build positive conceptions of male and female in a just society.

## CONTENT AND METHODS

### A. The Hidden Curriculum

1. Let's assess the situation. In my classroom, do more boys respond than girls? If I were asking a student to help me, would I more likely ask a girl to do a delicate job, a boy to do a heavy job?

2. How do students treat students of the opposite sex? Do boys interrupt and dominate the girls? Do girls tend to speak less, in quieter voices, with more caution? If the atmosphere and relationships are not as you would like them, what steps can you take (small or large) to effect change?

3. The National Organization of Women (NOW) poses questions for teachers in the form of a quiz: Do you pity girls who are unable or unwilling to be fashionable? Do you react negatively to boys who have long hair or wear earrings, or to girls who wear slacks? Do your teachers plan different activities or different adaptations of the same activity for boys and for girls? Do the lessons include more exciting role models for boys than for girls? Do you ever say, "Boys shouldn't hit girls," or "Ladies don't talk that way," or "Ladies first"? Do you feel it is more important to help boys sort out career options than to help girls do the same?

### B. Course Content

1. Family roles provide an important area for discussion of woman. Student activity: Gather magazine articles on childrearing now and thirty years ago. What has changed? What are your feelings on childrearing (consider "working mothers"; fathers who stay home with the children; childrearing by a single person, by a homosexual or lesbian couple; day care)?

2. Family roles, of course, do not come with the physiological equipment of male or female; we learn roles. We want our children to choose freely their life-directions. In addition, we want them to be accepting of people who have chosen out-of-the-ordinary roles for themselves. Often our limited creativity leads us to think that only men can play professional sports; only women can become nurses and secretaries. One way to liberate the imaginations of primary students is Marlo Thomas' "Free to Be... You and Me," in book, record or videotape form. (Note especially "William Wants a Doll," "It's All Right to Cry," and "Parents are People.")

3. American history has a strongly male focus, despite the numerous women who have made crucial contributions, especially in social change. Students might do reports on Harriet Tubman, Jane Addams, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Rosa Parks, or others.

4. Some historical put-downs to think about:

"A woman without ability is normal." Ancient Chinese Proverb

"Women and dogs and other impure animals are not allowed to enter." Sign on Mosques in Mohammedan countries

Modern put-downs to think about:

"By herself, woman is all mixed up, but superb as an auxiliary."--G.C. Payette, How to Get and Hold a Woman

"...throughout the ages the problem of women has puzzled people of every kind"--Sigmund Freud

"Three things have been difficult to tame: the ocean, fools, and women. We may soon be able to tame the ocean; fools and women may take a little longer." Spiro Agnew

"I know it's old-fashioned, but I do feel that women just are inferior to men in almost every way." Janet Pearce, "Pet of the Month," Penthouse magazine

"There is no career more exciting or exciting for a woman than marriage to a great man." Ms. Georgina Battixcombe, author.

### C. Sports

Do teachers in your school roughhouse with the boys and laugh at their mildly disruptive antics, but severely punish girls who are pushing and grabbing noisily?

Gather articles on women in sports and discuss whether it is good for women to compete as amateurs, as professionals. Does it make a difference which sport it is? Compare the articles in Sports Illustrated, your local paper, and Women-Sports.



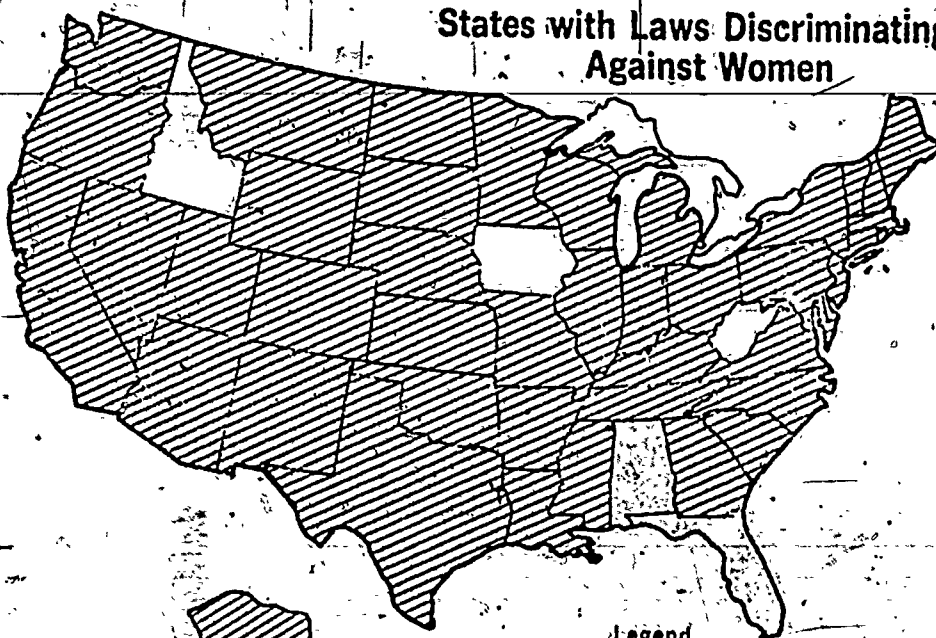
#### D. Women's Rights Under the Law

1. The attached map of the US shows the legal status of women in 1971. Since then, in states which have passed equal rights amendments to their own state constitutions, the situation has been greatly remedied. But these states are few in number. Students or adults may want to research the legal position of women in your state. Some state legislators have probably researched state law thoroughly on this point. Invite them to speak at your school.

2. The charts on earnings and status gaps are related to law only indirectly. Investigate which laws do cover hiring and professional training. If a man and a woman apply for a job and both are equally qualified, whom would you hire? Would it make any difference if you knew the woman was the head of her household (40% of working women are)? Should women heads of households be given preference over other women? Over men? What cultural barriers prevent women from being promoted to executive positions? (Business done in men-only clubs and bar-and-grills, wives fearing their husbands will be unfaithful if they go on business trips with women co-workers, executives fearing that if the women (or other minorities) do a better job than the white men, it will tear the company apart.)

(Both graphs from Newsweek's News Focus on Women's Rights, April 1971. Reprinted with permission)

## States with Laws Discriminating Against Women



### Legend

- ☐ Laws Discriminating Against Married Women
- ☒ Laws Discriminating Against Women Workers
- ☒ Both Types of Above Laws

## 2. CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING QUESTIONS

Some of the groups of women involved in consciousness-raising have found these questions helpful to start their discussions. Use one question per session or so and explore it in depth--all of us can answer these questions in a few words, but we wouldn't be learning much about ourselves.

--How did you learn as a little girl what "feminine" meant? Do you worry about being truly feminine? What does "femininity" mean to you in terms of your own life?

--What did you do as a little girl that was different from what little boys did? Why? Did you ever want to do anything else?

--How did you feel about the physical changes you went through in adolescence? What other changes did you go through at the same time?

--What was your first sex experience? What is a "nice" girl? Were you a "nice" girl?

--How do you feel about yourself around men? Are there things which you can't share with men? Why?

--How do you react to other women? Did you have close girl friends when you were growing up? Do you have close women friends now? Are women attractive to you? Do you compete with other women? In what ways?

--How would your life be different if you were/were not married?

--How do you feel about being a mother? About not being one? What have you missed?

--How do you feel about what you do during the day? If you could change your day, how would it be different?

--What did you want to do in life? Are you doing it?

## 1. WHAT WERE YOU GOING TO BE WHEN YOU GREW UP?

When you ask a little boy what he is going to be when he grows up, he tells you; he may not end up being what he first says, and he may "be" a number of different things over the course of his life, but throughout he is focusing on the work he does. Most little girls say they will be married, period. Yet data from the U.S. Department of Labor and the California Advisory Commission on the Status of Women show the following: The average life expectancy of women today is 75 years; since childbearing patterns have changed, the average mother of today has 40 years of life ahead of her after her youngest child enters school; 9 out of 10 girls will marry; 8 out of 10 will have children; 9 out of 10 will be employed outside the home for some period of their lives; at least 6 out of 10 will work full time outside their homes, for up to 30 years; more than 1 in 10 will be widowed before she is 50; more than 1 in 10 will be heads of families; probably 3 in 10 will be divorced; only 1 in 3 in California girls plan to go to college; most girls do not see themselves as problem-solvers or achievers; most girls have not been influenced or trained to deal with many of the realities they will face in their lives; society will continue to experience the loss of the talents of many bright women because they are not given early encouragement or because girls believe they must choose between a family and a career.

## F. Language

1. Language has become an important issue for many women. The authors of this Manual made the editorial decision to use words like humanity, humankind, persons, people, in place of "man," "mankind" and "all men." We try to never assume that the 3rd person singular is male. We further try to speak of postal workers, police officers and fire fighters, rather than write in male terms.

2. As educators we believe our language forms our thought patterns and in the last two years as we have become more careful about not using only male terms, we have found ourselves to think more often about how minorities must suffer because of language. Further, we find ourselves wondering what effect it does have on a little girl to hear "All men are created equal" and "Any man can become president of the United States."

3. To change one's language is non-time-consuming and other people don't notice it much unless you bring it to their attention. But it is symbolic of the future we are striving to create. Therefore, we suggest changing your language to be non-sexist as a social change strategy.

## RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Resources for Teachers:

Racism and Sexism Resource Center, for Educators, a joint effort of the Council on Interracial Books for Children and Foundation for Change, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

In All Fairness: a Handbook on Sex Role Bias in Schools by Gloria Golden and Lisa Hunter. Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development: 1974. \$5.00.

3 films Hey What about Us? (#8939), "I Is for Important" (#8945) and Anything They Want to Be (#8917) are produced by the above and are very fine. They get at the core of the problem.

The authors of Dick and Jane as Victims (\$2.00) have analyzed 1364 stories in grade school readers and share their analysis with us. Both elementary and high school teachers will find this book a valuable resource for detecting sexism in textbooks. Write: Women on Words and Images, P.O. Box 2163, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

Free material is available by writing Patricia Forester, Scott Foresman Co., 1900 East Lake, Glenview, Ill. 60025. Ask for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks. Also write McGraw Hill Book Co., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020. Ask for sexism guidelines. Both these publications give us hints on how to modify our own language and writing to avoid sexism.

We'll Do it Ourselves (about \$3.00) from Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, Andrews Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508, has a fine outline of federal laws applied to sex discrimination. The book has a few other articles some people might object to.

You Won't Do - What Textbooks on U.S. Government Tell Girls is a bit specialized but maybe what you want for help in evaluating social studies textbooks. Write: Know, Inc., Box 86031, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15221.

Today's Changing Roles: An Approach to Non-Sexist Teaching (about \$3.00) contains teacher resources with curriculum related activities in specific elementary, intermediate, and secondary sections. Materials can be used in a self-contained unit or to fit in other disciplines. Seems to me that the intermediate section becomes quickly sophisticated. A teacher's realizing that should be sufficient to take care of the problem (if it exists). Write: National Foundation for Improvement of Education, Suite 918, 1156 Fifteenth St. N.W. Washington, DC 20005.

The only simulation game I came across related to sexism is HERSTORY, published by Interact, P.O. Box 262, Lakeside, Calif. 92040. For people who want to spend some time on the topic and treat it in depth, this is a good resource. It cost \$12.00. I ordered it for personal use, and recommend you do the same.

UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., New York, N.Y. 10016 dedicated its NEWS to Women in the Third World during 1975. Third World Women and Women and Development are available at \$1.00 each. It is difficult to find information on women in various countries in encyclopedias and other reference books. The above publications could serve as such reference in your classroom.

Equal Partners (25 cents) brochure and other information on IWY is available from U. S. Center for International Women's Year, Meridian House International, 1630 Crescent Place, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. This agency has been sending nice kits on IWY free for the asking.

Also available is the UNICEF Secondary Teachers' Kit #5410 at \$1.50. It features women in various countries. Information is good for supplemental use.

The following agencies provide list of non-sexist books for libraries.

I myself have not been able to check out these lists, but most seem cheap enough to take the risk.

Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017. 50 cents with self-addressed stamped envelope. Ask for "Little Miss Muffet Fights Back."

Lollipop Power, Inc. P.O. Box 1171, Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514. Ask for free list of non-sexist books.

Women's Press Collective, 5251 Broadway, Oakland, Calif. 94618 Provides list of non-sexist books.

### MORE GENERAL SOURCES:

\*The New Women's Survival Catalog is an excellent reference book. It can be ordered from Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Berkeley Publishing Corp., 200 Madison Avenue, New York 10016.

"Women," a 25-minute slide presentation to commemorate International Women's Year, prepared by our Institute, starts with a rationale for IWY as stated by U.N. It presents famous women of the past and present, women's historic search for equality, sexist conditions in foreign countries and in America, and concludes with an appeal to women to recognize exploitation, appraise it, and organize to overcome it. (Discussion questions and resource sheet provided) This slide presentation can be rented from the Institute for \$3 to \$10, depending on ability to pay.

We Are Women, a 30 min., color, 16 mm. film published by Motivational Media, refutes standard, stereotyped concepts of women. Would be especially helpful as a discussion starter for junior and senior high students.

## OLD PEOPLE: A FORGOTTEN SECTOR

### GOALS AND RELEVANCE

Many of the values that today's society fosters show themselves to be directly oppressive to whole segments of our population. "Ageism" is a relatively new category of concern, but a close look at the way our culture treasures youth and beauty as good in themselves, and calls productivity the measure of personhood reveals the connections between our traditional value system and our generally outrageous abuse of the elderly.

It is important to be critical of these values, to know that human dignity is not limited to a particular age group, any more than it is limited to a particular racial group or sex: to know, simply, that being human is a process that goes from birth to death, with each stage molded by and contributing to the others.

It is important, too, to have a sense of the lives of older adults in this country, how those lives are determined by our national goals, and the kinds of steps that we can take to alter both our conception and our treatment of the elderly.

### CONTENT AND METHODS

1. To help students become more conscious of the cultural exultation of youth and writing-off the elderly, have them study TV commercials. Specifically, have them keep track for several days of the ages of all persons in the commercials, and the ages of those persons portrayed as the "beautiful" people. What ages is it best to be, according to these commercials? What values are important?

2. Another introductory study might be a comparison of how various cultures regard the elderly. On one level, have students investigate, in person if possible, how the various ethnic groups in their community (or region) regard the elderly. Are there "extended family" arrangements whereby grandparents, for instance, live with or in close proximity to their children and grandchildren? On a wider basis, have students investigate how American Indian tribes regard the elderly, and how other societies around the world do so. Have students identify similarities and differences and then choose the ways they find best. You might have them read "The Aged Poor in America" essay at the end of this unit.

3. One of the most pressing problems facing elderly is financial. Most older adults have no control over their source of income, depending entirely on retirement and welfare benefits. Social security benefits operate in such a way that a worker is likely to receive a pension worth less than half what he or she paid for it upon retirement; is required to live on a fraction of his or her accustomed income; is penalized for attempts to supplement

that income with other employment, by deductions from both the social security and the payroll checks.

4. Some people are able to supplement their income with savings or other investments, but the problem still stands; while costs skyrocket and new needs, particularly in the area of health care, continually present themselves, fixed incomes remain relatively fixed. Proposal to increase social security benefits dollar for dollar with cost of living increases face a most uncertain legislative future. In general, social security increases are pathetically little and much too late.

5. Various titles of the Older Americans Act provide financing for services for the elderly: nutrition, locally based service programs, and research. The total proposed budget for 1975 was \$200 million. A lot of money? Yes, until we notice that there are approximately 20 million aged persons in the United States today. That makes \$10 per person per year for all social services, and the number of aged is steadily increasing, as improved medical technology keeps us alive for longer and longer. The proposed 1977 federal budget is no more helpful, especially in the area of medical care.

6. The average monthly social security check for a retired worker is about \$200. This comes out to around \$2,400 a year for a single person. Now if he or she were accustomed to a salary of \$7,000 a year, it would be very difficult to make ends meet, with 1/3 the income. Make out a budget to plan how you'd spend your money in a situation like that, if you had no other source of income.

### BUDGET

A. Food: Ask your parents how much money your family spends on groceries in a month. Divide this amount by the number of people in your family. Put the amount here: \_\_\_\_\_

B. Rent: Read the paper to find out how much it costs to rent a small, inexpensive apartment. Put the amount here: \_\_\_\_\_

C. Fuel: Call an oil company to ask how much it might have cost last winter to heat a one-bedroom apartment. Put the amount here: \_\_\_\_\_

D. Spending Money: How much money do you spend on this--that in a week? Multiply by 4 (four weeks per month) and put that amount here: \_\_\_\_\_

E. Transportation: Calculate the cost of a bus trip a day, for one month. Put that amount here: \_\_\_\_\_

F. Add 10% to all the above expenses for miscellaneous. Put the amount here: \_\_\_\_\_



(Remember that most of the miscellaneous money will probably have to go for medical expenses, and even that may be insufficient.)

Put the total expenses here: Compare your total to the \$200 mentioned above. What would you do to balance your budget? (Sniff)

7. Let the students pretend (in role play or extemporaneous discussion) that they are old persons at a city meeting for school taxes. Consider: would you vote for or against school tax? Why? Would your reasons change if there were special tax breaks for senior citizens?

8. There are a lot of small steps that could be taken to ease the financial burden on the elderly. One thinks immediately of reduced bus fares, real estate tax rebates, sales tax breaks, etc. Let students think of some more possibilities. Write to state and local officials to suggest them; see what else is being considered in the legislature. A good place to get started on this project is to write to the National Council on Aging for names of helpful people in Congress, bills being considered, etc. In Missouri, for instance, tax reform groups are trying to repeal the sales tax on food and medicine.

9. Improvements in health care facilities are urgently needed. All our health care system is focused on acute illness: problems that can be treated and cured in a relatively short time. The sick elderly, victims of chronic illnesses, and needing long-term care, have no place in such a system--they are unwelcome in hospitals, and care is too often inadequate in conventional nursing homes. Write to HEALTHY PAC for their summary analyses of various National Health Insurance bills, and see how helpful such proposals are for the elderly.

10. How does it feel to have a chronic pain or infirmity? Ask students (2 or 3 at a time) to simulate a disability for a day by wearing gauze over their eyes, earplugs, etc.

11. Solutions to the dilemmas of the elderly are not to be found in simplistic concentration on improving institutional facilities--hospitals, nursing homes, etc. Only 5% of the nation's elderly are found in such institutions; the other 95% are to a great extent caring for themselves or sharing the resources of family and friends. Local "Meals on Wheels" programs provide opportunities for junior and senior high students to visit the elderly who live alone. See p. 137 for further information on this.

12. In order to gain for ourselves a sense of the strengths and interests of older people, it is important to spend time with those who can teach us best--the older people themselves. Invite some elderly people to teach the class something, to tell a story, or just to visit. It might be best, in this case, to direct children towards organizations of active, politically aware older people--the Gray Panthers, for instance--rather than a standard nursing home visit where they would be more likely

to experience the desolation of the elderly. But whenever students work with the elderly, it is crucial that they try to draw forth from older people the uniqueness each is and has--their skills, their insights, their person. This is the "dignity" component of justice as we understand justice (see pp. 236-37).

13. At another point in the exploration of the subject, a visit to a nursing home--looking at some of the most serious difficulties and sorrows of aging, as well as its strengths and possibilities. When children have a chance to visit with an old person, they might think of some questions ahead of time:

What do you remember about your parents?  
How far back can you remember?  
What was it like to be young then?  
...to be black?  
What is it like to be old today?  
What preparation did you have for becoming old?  
What do you remember about the old when you were young?

14. There are significant developmental stages in the self throughout the aging process. Erik Erickson suggests the stages of "generativity" (concern for the next generation) and "ego-integrity" (a sense of order and satisfaction toward one's own life, and a sense, too, of the commonality of human experience) as the critical human developments that take place in old age. Students, then, might make a bulletin board to build awareness that people still grow in old age ("Over the Hill?") with pictures of famous people and significant achievements past age 60.

15. Variation: put a time line on the wall marked with life stages and ages. Attach to it clippings, drawings, etc. pertaining to different age groups. Old people, too, have interesting lives. (Try, "It was a Very Good Year")

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Erickson, Erik, Childhood and Society, ed II, New York, W.W. Norton, Inc., 1963.  
The Elderly, pamphlet from U.S. Catholic Conference  
Respect Life, Pamphlet from U.S. Catholic Conference  
See St. Louis Post-Dispatch series on Social Security, June 2-6, 1974. Reprints available.

#### FILMS

Public libraries often have good films on the aged and on aging. Be sure to locate films for children, about the elderly, as many such films are primarily for older people.  
Aging: Searching for Eternal Youth, from University of California Extension Media Center  
The Four Day Week, from McGraw-Hill Films  
Nell and Fred, from the National Film Board of Canada  
Of Time, Work and Leisure, from Mass Media Associates  
To Die Today, from Filmmakers Library



## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

To provide a system of analysis and a direction for change,

To get in touch with personal feelings about poverty,

To provide experiences of, as well as knowledge about, poverty,

To look at poverty specifically as it exists in the U.S. and gain some understanding of the interconnectedness of poverty with the "American way of life" and other economic factors.

## INTRODUCTORY EXERCISES

A. Methods of getting at feelings and attitudes

### 1. "Fish Bowl"

Divide into groups. Within each group, one person is in center circle with the rest of the group circled around. The outer circle listens but does not speak during the inner circle discussion. At the end of the time period, stop the discussion of the inner circle and let the entire group respond. This draws on already existent knowledge, feelings, and brings these to the surface and enables each person and the group as a whole to see where they are.

Some statements which might be used for the inner circle discussion:

--"Look what she's getting with food stamps; she's eating better than we do!"

--"What can you expect from people on welfare? If they'd only get out and work!"

--"I pay my taxes and work hard. What does anybody do for me?"

--"Why work when you can live it up on welfare?"

### 2. Rank Order

Present a set of three items--e.g., "social security, unemployment compensation, welfare" or "black, old, unemployed"--have the group, each member of the group, list them in preferential order and say them aloud, and you chart the responses of the group.

### 3. Reaction Statement

Write a provocative statement or flash or post a picture in front of the group. After time has been given to think about the stimulus, ask anyone to step to the front, and react in any way they choose for one minute. The other persons may not react in any way to this personal statement, although each/all may be encouraged to present their own reaction, to the initial stimulus.

Sample stimuli might be:

--"No one has a right to eat unless they work"

--"Women on welfare ought to be sterilized."

--"Payment must be made before the doctor will see you."

--Pictures of a section of a street in the inner city, homes of tenant farmers/migrant workers, people in various stressful situations.

### 4. Value Game

Designate four areas as "strongly agree," "mildly agree," "strongly disagree," and "mildly disagree". Have participants place themselves in the area of their choice as you read through the cases. There probably should be at least 15 cases to judge; they should be read through rapidly. Discussion following the game is vital.

Some sample cases might be:

--You hire a person to clean your home weekly. You pay \$13.00 for an 8-hour day. You do not provide a vacation, holidays, or sick leave.

--A person living in the central city buys a new bed from one of the downtown stores. The store refuses to deliver to the area of the city where the customer lives.

--An elderly person receives an 11% increase in Social Security. The Supplemental Security Income is cut by precisely this same amount.

### 5. Voting

In order to quickly survey the group, read the questions/statements and have each person show their response in this manner:

approve	raise hand high
disapprove	turn thumbs down
approve somewhat	raise hand halfway
refuse to decide	fold arms

Some samples might be:

--How many of you feel that food stamps should be used only to purchase food?

--How many of you think that hospital workers have a right to strike?

--"How many of you feel it is alright for insurance companies to charge more for the same policy to persons living within the city or parts of the city?"

--"How many of you believe it is alright for banks to refuse to make home loans to persons living in the city or certain parts of the city?"

It is important in this exercise that there be between 4 and 14 items to vote on and that the items be phrased in a non-judgmental way.

With all these methodological suggestions, the facilitator can be most helpful if the cases, examples, questions, statements, pictures, etc., are related to the local situation. The daily newspapers are a good source for what is actually happening in the area.

B. "Poverty Quiz" (write Campaign for Human Development for more information)

1. How many persons live below the poverty level in U.S. (Poverty level - \$5,038 for a family of four)?

6 million \_\_\_\_\_ 12 million \_\_\_\_\_  
24 million ☒ 36 million \_\_\_\_\_ (check one)

2. What percentage of poor people in America receive some kind of public assistance?

10% \_\_\_\_\_ 25% \_\_\_\_\_ 40% \_\_\_\_\_ 60% ☒ 90% \_\_\_\_\_

3. What percentages of all welfare recipients are able-bodied men?

2% ☒ 12% \_\_\_\_\_ 25% \_\_\_\_\_ 35% \_\_\_\_\_ 50% \_\_\_\_\_

4. What percentage of poor people can actually work?

12% \_\_\_\_\_ 25% ☒ 30% \_\_\_\_\_ 53% \_\_\_\_\_ 75% \_\_\_\_\_  
(60% are the elderly or children under 18;  
15% are mothers with children under 9)

5. What percentage of poor people capable of working do work full time or part time year round and are still poor?

30% \_\_\_\_\_ 42% \_\_\_\_\_ 50% \_\_\_\_\_ 38% \_\_\_\_\_ 63% \_\_\_\_\_ 95% ☒

6. If you live in a city with a four person family, and your job pays the federal minimum wage, how much above or below the poverty level will your income be?

-\$200 \_\_\_\_\_ -\$500 ☒ equal \_\_\_\_\_ +\$187 \_\_\_\_\_ +\$649 \_\_\_\_\_

7. What percentage of all welfare recipients are children, aged, disabled, or mothers with young children?

5% \_\_\_\_\_ 32% \_\_\_\_\_ 65% \_\_\_\_\_ 82% \_\_\_\_\_ 99% ☒

8. Fill in the blanks: What percentage of the following groups in U.S.A. are poor?

Blacks 33% American Indians 90% Spanish 25%  
White Americans 9%

9. What percentage of all poor in the U.S. are white? 56% + 11% Spanish speaking origin.

10. How many Americans are functionally illiterate?

2 million \_\_\_\_\_ 7 million \_\_\_\_\_ 33 million \_\_\_\_\_  
42 million \_\_\_\_\_ 66 million ☒ 73 million \_\_\_\_\_

11. The median family income among white families in U.S. is about \$13,400 ☒  
\$10,000 \_\_\_\_\_ \$7,500 \_\_\_\_\_

(statistics current as of 2-1-76)

## CONTENT

### A. "Functional Analysis"

This is a means of examining phenomena, institutions, etc. The basic premise is that the phenomena continue to exist because they support the basic value structure of society. More specifically, they continue because they support the value structure of the dominant group(s) within that society. Herbert Gans, from the Sociology Department at Columbia University has analyzed poverty in this light and suggests that poverty will

remain in the United States so long as it continues to play a positive function for the affluent majority. To quote from Herbert Gans, "The Positive Functions of Poverty," in the American Journal of Sociology, and reprinted with permission:

1. "The existence of poverty makes sure that 'dirty work' is done. Every economy has such work: physically dirty or dangerous, temporary, dead-end and underpaid, undignified and menial jobs. These jobs can be filled by paying higher wages than for 'clean' work, or by requiring people who have no other choice to do the dirty work and at low wages. In America, poverty functions to provide a low-wage labor pool that is willing--or, rather, unable to be unwilling--to perform dirty work at low cost."

2. "...the poor subsidize, directly and indirectly, many activities that benefit the affluent...for example, domestics subsidize the upper middle and upper classes, making life easier for their employers and freeing affluent women for a variety of professional, cultural, civic, or social activities..."

"At the same time, the poor subsidize the governmental economy. Because local property and sales taxes and the ungraduated income taxes levied by many states are regressive, the poor pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes than the rest of the population, thus subsidizing the many state and local governmental programs that serve more affluent taxpayers."

3. "...the poor buy goods which others do not want and thus prolong their economic usefulness, such as day-old bread, fruits and vegetables which would otherwise have to be thrown out, secondhand clothes, and deteriorating automobiles and buildings. They also provide incomes for doctors, lawyers, teachers, and others who are too old, poorly trained, or incompetent to attract more affluent clients."

4. "In addition, the poor perform a number of social and cultural functions. The poor can be identified and punished as alleged or real deviants in order to uphold the legitimacy of dominant norms....The defenders of the desirability of hard work, thrift, honesty, and monogamy need people who can be accused of being lazy, spendthrift, dishonest, and promiscuous to justify these norms.... Whether the poor actually violate these norms more than affluent people is still open to question."

5. "...the poor function as a reliable and relatively permanent measuring rod for status comparison, particularly for the working class, which must find and maintain status distinctions between itself and the poor...."

6. "...they help to keep the aristocracy busy, thus justifying its continued existence. 'Society' uses the poor as clients of settlement houses and charity benefits; indeed, it must have the poor to practice its public-mindedness so as to demonstrate its superiority over the nouveaux riches

who devote themselves to conspicuous consumption."

7. "Finally, the poor carry out a number of important political functions... the poor serve as symbolic constituencies and opponents for several political groups... the poor, being powerless, cannot be made to absorb the economic and political costs of change and growth in American society... Urban renewal projects to hold middle-class taxpayers and stores in the city and expressways to enable suburbanites to commute downtown have typically been located in poor neighborhoods, since no other group will allow itself to be displaced... The poor have also paid a large share of the human cost of the growth of American power overseas, for they have provided many of the foot soldiers for Vietnam and other wars."

8. "I would also argue that no social phenomenon is indispensable; it may be too powerful or too highly valued to be eliminated, but in most instances, one can suggest what Merton calls 'functional alternatives' or equivalents for a social phenomenon, that is, other social patterns or policies which achieve the same functions but avoid the dysfunctions."

From Herbert Gans, "The Positive Functions of Poverty," More Equality. Copyright 1972 by Herbert Gans. Reprinted with permission of Pantheon Books (Random House).

#### B. Justice

Justice is a situation that exists when each person and all persons have the possibility of controlling their own lives; that is, when the possibility of choice is real and when the common good of the whole becomes effective in the lives of all persons. See Part II, THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, especially pp. 236-37.

#### C. Assumptions

It is a sociological principle that in order to bring about change, we must identify and examine the unconscious/unexamined assumptions upon which we operate. Only at that point can we make conscious decisions about those assumptions.

1. Some assumptions upon which we operate in the U.S.

a. Resources are not for all; they belong to the highest bidder.

b. Food, clothing, shelter, health care are not rights of persons, but are rewards for work.

c. The right to private property is exclusive and inalienable. This right supercedes persons, both in their rights and their needs.

d. The right to profit is unlimited. It supercedes persons, both in their rights and in their needs.

e. Institutions are supreme, not persons (some examples of institutions might be law, order, etc.)

2. Some problem areas that are related to these assumptions

#### a. Employment

Jobs are the means of access to resources. "Society" demands that persons work if they are to earn, be clothed, etc. At the same time, jobs are not available for all and, in fact, this is the intended policy (a 4% unemployment rate is considered to be "full employment"). This means that a certain percentage of persons are never intended to be a part of the work-force. This percentage figure does not take into consideration those persons who are related to the work-force only marginally--seasonal and part-time workers, etc. Health hazards and safety standards are still a major problem for workers in specific jobs; for example, miners, chemical plant workers.

Many institutions within the society are job-related: unemployment insurance, pensions, retirement, social security, etc. Therefore, some persons have their access cut off for their entire lifetime because they are never able to be in the mainstream of the work-force. More specifically on this matter, social security has the lowest-paid earners paying the highest percentage of income and getting the lowest return (so that the person who has had the greatest drain on income during his working years has also the greatest need at retirement and yet receives the lowest benefits).

#### b. "Success" and "Failure"

Those persons who do not make it within the system are seen as defective persons and therefore any way in which society related to those persons can be punitive, restrictive, limited, etc., is fine. One example of such a relationship is the welfare system.

##### (1) Welfare for the poor

Much of what is considered "fact" on welfare is in fact "myth." See the answers to the "Poverty Quiz", above, and the data on food stamps on pp. 130, for the facts.

##### (2) Welfare for the rich

The same criteria, however, do not apply to businesses which do not make it. Government subsidies are given--e.g., Lockheed, Penn Central, etc. One example of such a relationship is the tax system. According to the 16th Amendment, the government is to tax income regardless of its source. However, there are exceptions in whole or in part when the income is from oil, land, stock market, bonds, etc. This is clearly "welfare for the rich."

## D. Poverty as Powerlessness

1. Why is welfare for the poor so little in comparison with the welfare for the rich in this country? It is largely a question of power. To understand poverty correctly is to appreciate the relative powerlessness of the poor (see *WORLD HUNGER*, pp. 130-32; and *GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY*, pp. 110-13, and *THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE*, pp. 236-37, 243-44).

2. An excellent series of case studies demonstrating the powerlessness of the poor in the U.S. is the Campaign for Human Development study entitled *Poverty in American Democracy*. Sr. June Wilkerson at Regina High School in Minneapolis is developing a teaching unit around this work and it should be available in the spring of 1976. To cite just one example from the CHD study: 45% of the poor in the U.S. live in families where the head of the household does work full or part time but the job does not pay a just wage or offer regular work. Yet we still find most people blaming the victims, blaming the poor for their condition.

3. See *WORLD HUNGER*, pp. 130, for a discussion of the situation of food stamp recipients in 1975-76.

4. The best short analysis of poverty in the U.S. as powerlessness is contained in the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops of Appalachia, entitled *This Land is Home to Me: Powerlessness in Appalachia* (outlined on pp. 243-44, and available from the Catholic Committee on Appalachia. A multimedia kit based on the Pastoral has been developed by KCM Productions (P.O. Box 2033, Stamford, Conn. 06096), "as a first step in presenting the people, the plight and the struggles of Appalachia. The slide presentation component pictures the effects of the economic exploitation of Appalachia on both the people and the land. In the process it captures some of the beauty of the people, as does the accompanying record (and additional slides) of 10 "Songs of the Mountains." However, since the slide presentation does not adequately describe the economic causes of the poverty and does not point out in any detail suggestions for action, it needs to be supplemented (ideally by the Pastoral Letter itself). An 80-page "Teachers Guide" describes many different resources (films, books, teachers manuals, Scriptural references, action projects) but leaves it to the teacher to figure out how to use any of them. Finally, the conclusion of the slide presentation states strongly that a response to the poverty/exploitation of Appalachia (and elsewhere) is part of what it means to be a follower of Jesus. Cost: \$104.95..

## METHODOLOGY

1. For little children, urban poverty can be frightening, especially for people who are not poor. One approach may be to help children to understand and appreciate the city, its novelties and adventures, its terrors and oppressions.

### 2. "The Poverty Game"

#### a. Supplies

A collection of magazines, a quantity of

Elmer's glue, scissors, a packet of bright construction paper, an assortment of dull, faded construction paper, scrap paper, foil paper, vividly colored tissue paper, pipe cleaners, dirty yarn, soda straws, clean yarn, cigarette butts, etc. Numbered envelopes containing pieces of construction paper marked one cent, two cents, three cents, four cents, five cents, according to the needs described below.

#### b. Preparation

Divide your group into the following categories: citizens (the majority of your group), storekeepers, a policeman, welfare workers, a clergyman, an organizer of the poor, a group of observers, and a game supervisor to keep the game moving.

Citizens indiscriminately receive money on this scale: in a group of ten, three have no money, two have three cents, two have six cents, one has ten cents, one has twelve cents, and one has seventeen cents. A larger group would have more wealth but a wider distribution of poverty. For instance, in a group of twenty participants: six have no money, four have three cents, two have ten cents, four have six cents, one has twelve cents, one has fifteen cents, and one has twenty cents. The welfare workers receive half-cents to give as welfare payments and the storekeepers have money for change.

#### c. Plan of Action

The citizens are told they must produce a collage in twenty minutes. They are given sealed money envelopes and told that supplies are sold at various stores. At the end of the time period, every citizen must have a collage to hang on the wall.

Storekeepers sell materials the workers need. In a glue store, one dab of Elmer's glue costs one cent; in an equipment store, scissors are three cents; in a paper store, a small sheet of colored tissue paper is two cents, construction paper is three cents, and scrap materials may be any price. A junk store has such items as pictures torn from magazines, chicken feathers and wilted flowers. Storekeepers may overcharge, sell wealthy customers items on credit, sell damaged merchandise, or bargain with the customers. The poor should be mistreated. Near the end of the time limit, storekeepers can increase or reduce prices. They can send a policeman to collect an I.O.U. A citizen can be sued for not paying.

The police patrol the area. They spy on the poor and harass them. They especially watch for cheating and stealing. They rough up offenders. They ridicule poor people and side with the wealthy. They make arrests and place offenders in a "jail" for one to five minutes.

The welfare worker has a few half-cent pieces. He assists the poor, but requires them to fill out long forms and



wait for long periods before receiving help. He asks personal questions like: "What will you do with your money? How much money did you get? Have you tried to get money somewhere else?" He gives one-quarter and one half-cent allowances.

The clergyman gives out very little money. He talks about the poor people's relationship to the church and gives money only if people promise to attend church. He asks several rich people for money for the poor.

The supervisor is the director of the game. He must know who is assuming what role and who has money. He acts as a catalyst and is very pushy and insulting. He demands that the poor produce more work but is very critical of their work. He rejects even the finished products saying they could have been better.

The organizer of the poor attempts to unite them. He can organize sit-in's, demonstrations, boycotts, or whatever. He may achieve his goal in either a constructive or destructive way. The police are very much opposed to such activity and act accordingly.

The observers have a list of citizens and how much money each has received. They record the comments and interaction of the group for later discussion.

#### d. Conclusion

At the end of the game, all collages are displayed. The participants may jeer or cheer. The supervisor should ask the feelings of the participants and compare them to real life situations. They should note who has money at the end of the game.

#### 3. Other games

a. "Horatio Alger"--available from the metropolitan Detroit Welfare Reform Coalition.

b. "Star Power"--see GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY, p. 111.

#### 4. Consciousness-raising projects

a. Contact doctors, dentists, private hospitals to see if they will accept Medicaid patients, and under what conditions, etc. Make a rating chart to include such items as personnel, cleanliness, availability, etc., and rate institutions on the same chart. For example, rate hospitals (suburban, private; city, private; city; county), stores (suburban chain food; city chain food; suburban neighborhood food; city neighborhood; suburban chain drug; city chain drug; suburban chain hardware; city chain hardware). In collecting the data on the stores which are in a different neighborhood from yours, use only public transportation.

#### b. B-1 Bomber

Take a weapon system like the B-1 Bomber, which will cost taxpayers about \$92 billion when all 241 planes are completed and are operating (if...), and compute how much will go from your city (estimate \$1,000 per

family) to pay for it and then figure how much could be spent on existing unmet social and human needs in your city: health care, housing, transportation, education.

c. Assumptions. Take the assumptions examined earlier and try to decide how the assumption(s) affect(s) you in your daily life and how it affects our institutions (church, family, school, state, etc.) and how it affects relationships. Ask yourself questions until you are in touch with the root problems stemming from the assumption. Try to plan a course of action which would enable persons to counteract effects of inhibiting assumptions.

d. Lobby. Organize a student lobby to investigate the welfare legislation proposals, to decide to support a bill, to try to influence the state legislators to vote for this bill, to educate others to the need for such legislation and to solicit their support. In Missouri, contact the Missouri Catholic Conference in Jefferson City for assistance. A staff member has been hired to work on the area of welfare reform. Also available is a newsletter published by the Missouri Association for Social Welfare and listing current bills before the state legislature and what can be done in support of such measures.

#### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### A. Teachers Guides or Manuals

1. The Campaign for Human Development, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20005, has published a number of materials for elementary and secondary schools:

a. For elementary students, there is a 5-module packet on poverty, focusing individually on Spanish-speaking people, American Indians, Black Americans, the elderly, and rural white poor. 20¢ each.

b. For high school students, there is a 5-module packet, each focusing on a generic question: 1) what is poverty; 2) who are the poor; 3) where are the poor; 4) why does poverty exist; and 5) what is our response to poverty. 20¢ each.

c. Source Book on Poverty, Development and Justice--which focuses on the Scriptural basis for involvement in these concerns, the social mission of the Church, social sin, Christianity as a life-style, and education to justice. \$1.50

d. 48-page catalog/bibliography of books, tapes, articles, films and film strips, simulation games, records, etc., dealing with poverty justice and development.

2. The metropolitan Detroit Welfare Reform Coalition in conjunction with the Justice and Peace Commission of the Archdiocese of Detroit has developed an excellent curriculum on poverty and welfare within the U.S. economic system. The curriculum is for secondary students or adults. Write to MDWRC, 305 Michigan

Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

3. The Missouri Catholic Conference (P.O. Box 1022, Jefferson City, MO 65101) has published a small "Public Assistance Primer"--a programmed pamphlet about welfare--14 pages, and is useful for junior and senior high and for adults. 25¢ per copy; bulk rates are available.

#### B. FILMS--

CAUTION: Make sure that negative images of the poor are balanced with portrayals of their values and contributions to life.

"Hangman"--12 minutes, color, available (St. Louis) in the public libraries--eloquent statement of man's having no choice but to speak out against all injustice or he is doomed. Based on the poem by Maurice Ogden.

"The String Bean"--17 minutes, color, available (St. Louis) in the public libraries--a beautiful story about old age and loneliness and love.

"Home of the Free"--8 minutes, color--a series of comments by poor people in different parts of the U.S., especially their feelings and attitudes. Available from the Campaign for Human Development (in St. Louis, call 533-1887).

"Land of the Brave"--8 minutes, color--the faces and voices of the 30 million poor throughout America today, dispelling the stereotypes of the poor as lazy and uncaring. Also available at diocesan CHD offices.

#### FILMS (senior high and adults)

"Hunger in America", 52 min, b&w, focuses on the millions of hungry in this country. Rental from ROA for \$17.50

"Hunger in St. Louis", 20 min, color, study by KMOX-TV on the hungry in St. Louis in 1975. Rental free from Food Crisis Network, 4050 Lindell, St. Louis, 314-658-2077.

"The Poor Pay More", 55 min, b&w, on exploitation by supermarkets, furniture and appliance stores, and finance companies. Rental from your local AFL-CIO office is \$3; from U of Calif. Extension Media Center is \$13.50 (UCAL).

"Poverty in Rural America", 28 min, b&w, on the grinding poverty of Black, White, Indian, and Chicano rural poor, particularly the lack of quality education. Rental free from the U.S. Dept of Agriculture.

"Unseen Suburbia", 27 min, b&w, 1969, on the needs of a migrant worker, a jobless miner, and other employed. Rental is \$12 from NBC Educational Enterprise, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, NY 10003.

"Banks and the Poor", 59 min, b&w, 1970, on the role of bank investment and loan practices in maintaining slums and ghettos. From UCAL for \$18.

#### C. LEGISLATIVE ACTION

We recommend the newsletter of Network, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the documents and testimony of the U.S. Catholic Conference and other Church groups for further information and action suggestions on such matters as housing, food stamps, health care, and employment. Getting on their mailing lists is inexpensive and is a tremendous source of information and action.

#### D. BOOKS/STUDY PROGRAMS

See the "Macro-Analysis" Program of the Movement for a New Society, described in Part IV, p.342.

John K. Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973) --perhaps his best effort, describing the U.S. economy and developing alternatives. The Affluent Society (New American Library).

John Kain, Race and Poverty (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969).

Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and the Super Rich (New York: L. Stuart and Co., 1968).

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor, (New York, 1971).

See bibliography in JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, especially Economics and the Gospel, in INSTITUTIONAL RACISM and other units in this series on "Institutional Violence"

The Incidence and Effects of Poverty in the US (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969) --set of 10 paperbacks and instructor's guide. Sidney Lens, Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox (NY: Crowell, 1969) --story of the richest nation's unwon war.

William Ryan, Blaming the Victim (NY: Pantheon Books, 1971) --analysis of the warped logic that enables many people to believe that it is the characteristics of the poor that are the fundamental causes of poverty. Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962) --chapters describe various poor groups; an excellent study which helped start the "War on Poverty."

Poverty Amid Plenty: The American Paradox (President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs); US Gov. Printing Office, 1969--has important statistics.

#### E. PICTURES

"Contrast"--between rich and poor + quotes and sources. From National Council of Churches, 415 Riverside Dr., NY 10027.

"The Deprived"--moving photos of the poor. From Seabury Bookstore, 815 2nd Ave., NY 10017.

## PROPAGANDA AND ADVERTISING

## RELEVANCE AND GOALS

Like competition, like automation, propaganda (and its daughter, advertising) emerges naturally in a technological society. What do we want for that society, our society? Justice and peace in the human community. But peace does not prevail; and propaganda sides with forces operating against peace in the world. We want to examine propaganda more closely, in order to be more critical of its impact on us, and to put us in tighter control of our own lives. Let's know the forces which constrain us; thereby we will work with potency for peace and justice, starting with our classrooms where we first find ourselves, and moving into every dimension of our lives.

Propaganda, especially of a political nature, surrounds us. In the recent past, "The Pentagon Papers" have demonstrated how much information the government withholds from the people it represents. We also discovered through those documents, that, without lying, the government can create an entirely deceptive impression of the state of the country and the world. The Watergate Transcripts are a more current example of this. Cynical America lives easily with such realities. The political manipulation of language has become a national sport which all are invited to play. Can we begin to show our children how to see through the muck, which has no pervaded the advertising world as well? As peacemakers, we want to develop our sense of outrage at this disregard for truth.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

1. Propaganda and advertising, two very closely-related problems in our society, both aim at moving people to action of a particular kind. Advertising need not always be propagandistic; but we find it more so all the time. We can define "propaganda" as "the use of all the most efficient means to move people to action of a certain kind."

2. Why is that so bad? Is propaganda evil because it is filled with lies. History has shown that the most effective producers of propaganda rarely lied. It is no longer necessary to lie in order to move people to the kind of action you seek; it is necessary to do everything that you can think of to do. Lying hurts credibility; people will not be moved to action by someone they do not believe. Instead, propagandists will choose their truths to create an impression; perhaps they will employ subtle psychological coercion. The nature of all propaganda is that no ways are forbidden.

3. We only become aware of these trends in our society slowly. To prepare our students to be peacemakers in the society in which they will live, a society scarred by power-seeking and profit-seeking exploitation of people, we need to introduce them to critical thinking at an early age. Even children in the middle grades can understand much of the

nature of propaganda in their world; let's help them become even more critical, even more aware of alternatives. Children can know that society can be better than it is at the present, and can put their ideas to work.

4. To heighten student awareness of propagandized language and propagandized ways of thinking in everyday life, the game "Propaganda" by Milton Bradley is excellent.

5. Propaganda (a method) is the same, no matter who does it. Sometimes we think of the propaganda as true, and if we believe what we say, then propaganda is an acceptable way for us to move people to action. Think about something you hold strongly, perhaps a religious belief. Remember that any information or belief can be propagandized, no matter how sacred or important. Is it right to use any means to make people believe something important? Help the children designate limits for moral means of persuasion. Would you propagandize people "for their own good"?

6. For your students, try out different situations to see how propaganda might work. Let children role-play the creation of false impressions. Selling soap on TV; announcing a school assembly; defending a political candidate; emceeing an Olympic sporting event; teaching history.

7. Propaganda is alienating: the person who produced propaganda is always, separated by power from the person who is propagandized. The propagandist needs only the action from the other. If I want a person to act in a particular way, for me, and I want nothing more from that person, the person has ceased to be a unique human being for me. Ask your children how they feel when they have deceived someone they know. Ask how they feel toward someone who has deceived them. Relate this to discussion of community. Can propaganda bring people together?

8. You may want to do your own analysis of propaganda with your students. Seek your own data. A worksheet is included with this unit; or make up your own. First discern with them the difference between "fact" and "opinion", emphasizing that this distinction is rough at best (even "facts" can conflict). Then watch a TV commercial together, if you can. The best is a familiar one. Analyze it together; then ask the children to do one on their own at home. Discuss in a group what advertisers think about people. Let this lead into ideas about consumerism and ecology, if feasible.

## A Worksheet for Propaganda/Advertising

NAME OF AD

WHEN WAS IT ON?

WHAT DID THE MAKER WANT TO TELL YOU?

WHAT WAS FACT AND WHAT WAS OPINION?

WHOSE OPINION WAS IT?

WHO ARE THEY SPEAKING TO? Children or Adults, rich or poor, smart or dumb, white or black?

CAN YOU THINK OF WHAT THE AD-MAKER MIGHT BE TRYING TO SAY ABOUT PEOPLE? (that they should drink beer, be clean, smoke cigarettes, smell good, be rich, always smiling, etc) (popularity vs. service) (fun vs. creativity)

DO YOU AGREE WITH WHAT THE MAKER SAYS?

#### Questions for the Teacher:

What assumptions do the producers make about the audience? Are they right? What facts about that audience limit its awareness of the message and its deeper values?

What are the limits on your own awareness? Do you agree or disagree with the main message? How would you advertise your views?

See WORLD HUNGER, p.136, for interpreting commercials relating to food.

9. Sometimes we can say one thing to produce a different impression in someone else's mind. Young children can act out vignettes such as: Mary has 40 pieces of candy. Ten of her friends are with her. They have no candy. To one friend Mary gives one piece of candy. Mary tells her mother, "I gave candy to my friend." Mother says, "Mary, how very generous of you!"

#### 10. Other discussions about propaganda:

--It is diverse; it is a tool which can be used for any activity or belief, in any setting. Consider homes, prisons, nations; schools, as locations for propaganda.

--It requires power: if propaganda is the use of many means to persuade people to action, the propagandist must have access to these ways of persuasion. Imaginatively brainstorm to persuade people in the United States to engage in a particular activity. Who has the power to control each means of persuasion?

--It sets the tone for a complete form of human relationships. Consider the way television advertising reinforces the American virtues of conformity and competition.

--Propaganda is subtle. The oppression of the Jewish people in Germany began in a seemingly harmless way. The first step taken was the definition and identification of Jews written into law. The steps escalated as follows:

- b. Intermarriage outlawed.
- c. Jews expelled from Civil Service jobs.
- d. Rich Jews forced to sell out of corporations.
- e. Savings frozen.
- f. Property ownership forbidden--ghettos created.
- g. Labor camps formed.
- h. Killing begins.

By the time the serious steps began, the oppressed people were separated from any sympathetic support (Step g.). This is a clear example of the effective use of many means to a desired goal (extermination of Jews). Lies, we see, are not necessary.

11. How can toys be propaganda? Ask children to name the 5 things which they most like to play with. What helps you decide which toys you like? e.g., your parents, TV, other kids? How do you hear about toys you have, even before you have them? How do you feel when you see a toy you would like on television?

12. Help children to understand the propagandized language of politics at the present. Former President Nixon's statements provide a wealth of material here. With older children, discuss the emotional effect of expressions like "national security", "protective reaction strikes" in Vietnam, etc. A classic example occurred after the abortive raid on a P.O.W. camp in the north of Vietnam a couple of years prior to the end of the war. It was during football season, and foreign policy issues were being put into football terminology frequently. The President spoke of the idea of another attempt to find the P.O.W.s with the language: just as in football, if a play doesn't work the first time, you come right back with it! Since that makes a lot of sense to football fans (about half the American population), it thereby makes sense in a foreign policy context. The logic of the sporting situation is used to make political situations, illogical in themselves, seem logical.

13. Symbols play an important role in politics and propaganda of all kinds. People have a number of gut-level visual-emotional associations with little awareness of it. We can invite our children to begin to recognize the associations they make, and the meaning of these associations. These might begin in the middle grades.

Show the children 10 or 15 slides with high political symbolism: e.g., the American flag, John F. Kennedy, a hammer & sickle, the Statue of Liberty, Chinese peasants, a US marine, a Soviet political rally, the U.S. President, etc. Or invent your own.

Ask the students to write the kind of feeling they experienced looking at the slide: very bad, bad, little or no feeling, good, very good. Gather the results and present them to the children. Ask why people have bad feelings about certain symbols and where did these feelings come from? Students will soon discover that their responses have to do with political attitudes, usually acquired from their family, rather than information gathered.

The exercise demonstrates to the students that their response to symbols that represent or are threatening to American cultural values is influenced by past learning stereotypes and expectations. How would you have responded to the symbols if you had been brought up in another society?

For further explanation of this exercise, see William Nesbitt, Teaching About War and War Prevention (Foreign Policy Association).



#### OTHER IDEAS

1. How much discrimination can my own students reasonably do in judging television commercials and news? What experiences can I provide for them to increase their powers of perception?

2. Discuss how technology and psychological factors work together to inhibit clear perception of the world around us. Could technology work in ending propaganda?

3. How is propaganda and advertising related to justice? to competition? to materialism? to US foreign policy? to the Sermon on the Mount?

4. To stimulate critical thinking and perception in your students, replicate some of the famous sociological studies of attitude change in your own classroom. See works of Heider, Hovland, Sarnoff.

For example, think up an easy perception problem, like "Which of these two lines is longer?" The problem should be devised such that the answer is obvious. Tell three students about the experiment in advance, and ask them to give the wrong answer for every line pair when they are asked to make the judgement. In front of the class, invite the three and a fourth person to participate. Ask each to decide which line is longer in each pair. Each should answer aloud, and the naive student should respond last. Talk about what happened and how each felt. Discuss how conformity pressures our thinking.

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Nesbitt, Wm. H., Interpreting the Newspaper in the Classroom: Foreign News and World Views, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971.

As Others See Us: International Views of American History, Houghton Mifflin, 1969.

Griffith, Priscilla and Betty Reardon, Let Us Examine Our Attitude Toward Peace, World Law Fund, 1969.

GOALS AND RELEVANCE

- A. Concern about justice must involve every aspect of our lives. The economic life of our country is no exception. Systemic inequities keep some citizens powerful and well-fed, while others starve in impotence. We become so accustomed to seeing these unequal relationships among equal persons that the imbalance appears acceptable, normal, appears as the only possibility for our life together.
- B. Still, we know that men and women are able to take control over their own lives, that important changes can be made for the better. While our country offers many advantages, we would like to see major changes for peace and justice:
- a better assessment by the government of what people really need and want, and a restructuring of the way our money is spent.
  - a just distribution of wealth for all citizens.
  - a wiser, more frugal use of the world's natural resources.
  - an increase in people's participation in their political and economic lives locally.
- C. Many concrete problems relate to these concerns: union/management decisions; government budget decisions on city, state, and national levels; ecological crises; the disenchantment of citizens with politics; cooperative buying; cooperative financing and cooperative production; new forms of medical care.
- D. We'd like our students 1) to understand better the injustices tied intimately to our economic system and its power relationships, 2) to creatively imagine possible alternatives, and 3) to know how to work to change our economic lives for the better.

COMMENT AND METHODOLOGY

- A. A definition of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th worlds

Initially, the terms 1st, 2nd, and 3rd worlds referred to the nations which were capitalistic in their economy, those which were communistic in their economy, and those nations which were unaligned. So for many years the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. competed for political and economic allegiance from those unaligned nations, known as the 3rd world. So very quickly the distinction between economics and politics was blurred.

Almost as quickly, the distinctions blurred among the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd worlds. China was always a problem. Sometimes it was placed in the 2nd world as a Soviet satellite. Other times it was seen as too poor a country, to have a clearly defined economy and so put with the 3rd world. Tensions developed between China and the USSR. And all the while the bamboo curtain kept us from having any clear idea of what was happening in China. So we ignored a major portion of the world's people and land mass. Today China prefers to be listed as a 3rd world nation and align

themselves with the poor. However, some of the poor nations of the 3rd and 4th worlds are fearful of China's political dominance and do not want to align with China any more than in the past they have wanted to align with the USSR or the US.

Western Europe is also difficult to categorize. Politically, most of the Common Market nations continue to vote with the US in the United Nations and remain members of NATO. However, economically they have chosen socialism--a middle ground between capitalism and communism.

Another way of looking at the global distinctions is to say that the power belongs to those nations which have outlets on the Arctic Sea. Not only is the northern Hemisphere far more powerful than the southern hemisphere, but that power is concentrated and former world powers like Italy and Spain depend on their allegiance to the Common Market.

Kissinger offers yet another model of the concentration of power. He lists the 5 world powers as the US, the USSR, China, the Common Market, and Japan--all in the northern hemisphere, but cutting across old economic and political lines.

Although the old distinctions have blurred, a group of nations, virtually all in the southern hemisphere, continue to be left out. An exception to some degree are the oil-producing countries. But so far these nations have resisted forming stable economic and political ties with any northern nations.

So all of the nations left out of the power brokerage have come to be known as the 3rd world nations. The oil-producing nations are the wealthiest of these, and some, such as Argentina and Brazil have enough untouched natural resources to have a chance of providing for their poor--if they are left alone by multi-nationals and if they restructure their own governing mechanisms.

But recently the United Nations listed the 40 poorest nations of the world. These countries do not seem to have a chance of survival on their own. Many have been raped by old colonial powers who left no natural resources or new cultural patterns to replace what these powers took or destroyed. These are the nations now known as the 4th world. They are of no political value to anyone who befriends them, so nations do not vie for their alignment.

Generally, however, THIRD WORLD has come to be a shorthand expression meant to describe the very poor. Used in that manner, it often means US blacks and native American Indians and other poor minorities within wealthy countries.

The point of this explanation, though, is to show some of the links between economics and politics. In the US, politicians may play on our commitment to a particular ideology--democracy. But our foreign policy is based on power, not on ideology.

- B. The "S" is called the leader of the 1st world, and we are defined in terms of our economic system. What is capitalism anyhow?

1. It has not seem to p... Define capitalism carefully here. It's within a unit of a social studies course. What's not to say don't offer high school economic course where you can define capitalism carefully. It just isn't in the scope of this Manual.

But some of the characteristics of a capitalist system are: private ownership, profits, competition, inheritance, investments. What are some good aspects of these characteristics? Are bad aspects? See the context below.

2. The major critique of capitalism we know it in the US is that big corporations drive out small businesses and establish monopoly control--that is, they operate without competition. Many conservatives and liberals are united in their concern that we are drifting away from the principles upon which we were founded. They are also concerned that we are far more beholden to corporations over which we have no political control than to our government.

### 3. Some solutions:

- a. The conservative position urges the immediate end to government controls in order to stimulate competition.
- b. The liberal position urges much stricter government controls in order to protect existing small businesses.
- c. A radical position taken by the People's Bicentennial Commission is that we return to the concept of economic democracy which was advocated by Sam Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other patriots. A part of the PBC Declaration of Economic Independence reads as follows:

"We, therefore, the Citizens of the United States of America, hereby call for the abolition of these giant institutions of tyranny (the corporations) and the establishment of new economic enterprises with new laws and safeguards to provide for the equal and democratic participation of all American Citizens in the economic decisions that affect the well-being of our families, our communities, and our Nation. In furtherance of our joint hopes and aspirations, and mindful of the lessons of history, we steadfastly adhere to the general principle that a democratic Republic can only exist to the extent that economic decision-making power is broadly exercised by the people and not delegated to a few. Such is the necessity that compels us to act in support of decentralized economic enterprises, with ownership and control being shared jointly by workers in the plants and by the local communities in which they operate--with similar patterns of shared representative control being exercised on a regional and National level to insure the smooth and efficient coordination of all economic operations. For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The alternative the PBC is offering is not socialism or communism. They have brought historical, economic, and social expertise to the problems plaguing the US today, and the solution they propose is a new means for us to run our economy, but it is based on our political and social and economic experience.

PBC has a practical plan and hope for the future of the United States. E.F. Schumacher, in his book Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered, has a much larger vision of what economics is, how it works, and variations of current practice that are more human. He stands in opposition to those economists who "find it impossible to believe that labor might ever be a freely chosen, nonexploitive, and creative value in its own right" (p.6). Schumacher's emphasis is on the scale of the operation rather than the economic ideology from which it stems.

To deal with the question "What is capitalism?" I heartily recommend the PBC materials and Small is Beautiful because they raise a new set of questions and insights and enable students and teacher to by-pass tedious and misinformed discussions about the differences between capitalism and communism.

### C. The issue of justice

Once we understand some basic economic principles, we still have to deal with the painful questions of justice. The economic system which operates in the US today does cause injustice. Here follow some discussion questions that may help students understand the urgent need for more thinkers like Schumacher.

#### 1. Questions

Is it just for some people to have more than four times as much money than other people?

Consider the rich people in our country: did they become rich by being better than the poor? By doing more for America than the poor?

If a person is not able to work, should that person live more poorly than a person who is able to work?

Should the quality of a child's education depend on the amount its parents earn?

Is it fair for a person to inherit a large amount of money?

Is it necessary for everyone to work 40 hours a week, or could society get along with more free time?

What values should control the distribution of goods?

Is it just for the US to use our surplus food as a weapon to get other nations to do what we want?

The Arab countries have used their oil for that purpose to some extent. Does that make it less bad for us to do the same?

How would you feel if you had a million

dollars? What problems would stay with you and what ones would go away?

See **WORLD HUNGER**, "Solving Hunger Is a Matter of Justice and Not Charity," pp. 134-45, for a discussion of some of these questions. See also **POVERTY**, pp. 83-84, for a discussion of some of the others. See also **THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE**, especially pp. 236-37, and pp. 31-44, for our understanding of justice and the Catholic Church's critique of the capitalist economic system.

## 2. Contrast with Socialism

Here are some of the traits capitalism prizes: individualism, hard work, competition, productivity, usefulness, efficiency. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these traits?

Read "Communitarian Socialism" below. It is Julius Nyerere's (President of Tanzania) program for his country, his vision of a society structured to promote human well-being, and his contrasts between capitalist and socialist values. You might identify the basic socialist values and ask the same questions about them as about capitalist values.

High school students could view the film "Campamento." (see p. 111) and discuss the socialist values. See also the "People and Systems" Readings (see p. 109).

## D. OTHER THINGS TO DO

1. Many alternatives are available to the injustices of our present system. The Int. Soc. Worker Movement advocates the building of a new society with alternative economic and alternative patterns of relationships. Read the essay, which follows on the next page.
2. Play *Monopoly*. Try to play it with all the players agreeing to share and help each other.
3. Play some of the cooperation games listed in the section *Mutual Education* on p. 111.
4. Order the *IBC kit* and try to carry out some of their suggested activities.
5. Order the newsletter *Just Economics* for your school library, and agree to read it regularly.
6. Lobby for the Family Farm Act. Generally, this bill would prohibit any corporation with \$1 million dollars or more in non-agricultural assets from buying land. It has passed in Missouri and Minnesota. It failed in the national Congress, but there it contained the affirmational clause that corporations must divest themselves of the land they already own. Corporations such as Tenneco, Coca Cola, Purex Bleach, lobbied heavily to stop the bill. Kansas is considering an alternative measure to limit the land owned to 5000 acres.

Family farm legislation is an opportunity for us to prevent the development of agribusiness, exercise control over the land which is our heritage, preserve the value system of family ownership and

stewardship of the land, and encourage what the U.S. Department of Agriculture says is more efficient land use--urgent in this time of world hunger.

See the discussion of agribusiness in **WORLD HUNGER**, pp. 131-32.

## OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Economics and the Gospel** by Richard Taylor and published by The United Church of Christ as part of the Shalom Curriculum (1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102) presents the best examination of economics from a Biblical perspective we have found. In each chapter Taylor lists suggestions for action that any adult group could do. It is an excellent book for raising our consciousness without overwhelming us and leaving us feeling helpless. \$2.95. Its analysis of capitalist and socialist systems is both profound and easily understood.

Christoffel, Tom; David Finkelhor; and Dan Gilborg, *Up Against the American Myth*, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, New York, 1970. See especially section 5 on "Alternatives and Strategy."

Edwards, Richard, Michael Reich and Thomas Weisskopf, *The Capitalist System*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972.

Heilbroner, Robert, "Benign Neglect in the United States", *Transaction*, 7, (October 1970) p. 15-22. How the U.S. compares with other countries in tackling problems such as unemployment, poverty, and health, and how we often do so poorly relative to others.

Movement for a New Society, "Manifesto For Non-violent Revolution".

People's Bicentennial Commission, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Subscription \$10.00. (Well worth it.)

E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. New York: 1975. Paper, \$3.75.

"Just Economics: Movement for Economic Justice." 1611 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Subscriptions are prorated according to ability to pay and range from \$4.00 to \$25.00.

For the application of these questions and insights to the whole health care field, we highly recommend the articles, studies, and newsletter of the Health Policy Advisory Center. Ask for their list of resources and a sample copy of their Health Pac Bulletin. The health care issue is a good way to get a handle on the real differences between capitalist and socialist approaches.

See also bibliographies in **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING** and **PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA**.



(The Catholic Worker, under the direction of Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day, moves from the assertion that solutions to social problems lie in constantly providing society with creative models for change, while at the same time being present to those who suffer from injustice.)

#### CATHOLIC WORKER POSITIONS

The general aim of the Catholic Worker Movement is to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ. It must, therefore, begin with an analysis of our present society to determine whether we already have an order that meets with the requirements of justice and charity of Christ.

The society in which we live and which is generally called capitalist (because of its method of producing wealth) and bourgeois (because of the prevalent mentality) is not in accord with justice and charity -

IN ECONOMICS - because the guiding principle is production for profit and because production determines needs. A just order would provide the necessities of life for all, and needs would determine what would be produced. From each according to his ability, to each according to her needs. Today we have a non-producing class which is maintained by the labor of others with the consequence that the laborer is systematically robbed of that wealth which he or she produces over and above what is needed for bare maintenance.

IN PSYCHOLOGY - because capitalist society fails to take in the nature of the human being but rather regards the person as an economic factor in production. Profit determines what type of work will be done. Hence, the deadly routine of assembly lines and the whole mode of factory production. In a just order the question will be whether a certain type of work is in accord with human values, not whether it will bring a profit to the exploiters of labor.

IN MORALS - because capitalism is maintained by class war. Since the aim of the capitalist employer is to obtain labor as cheaply as possible and the aim of labor is to sell itself as dearly as possible and buy the products produced as cheaply as possible there is an inevitable and persistent conflict which can only be overcome when the capitalist system ceases to exist. When there is but one class the members perform different functions but there is no longer an employer-wage-earner relationship.

#### TO ACHIEVE THIS SOCIETY WE ADVOCATE:

A complete rejection of the present social order and a non-violent revolution to establish an order more in accord with Christian values. This can only be done by direct action since political means have failed as a method for bringing about this society. Therefore we advocate a personalism which takes on ourselves the responsibility for changing conditions to the extent that we are able to do so. By establishing Houses of Hospitality we can take care of as many of those in need as

96

we can rather than turn them over to the impersonal "charity" of the state. We do not do this in order to patch up the wrecks of the capitalist system but rather because there is always a shared responsibility in these things and the call to minister to our brothers and sisters transcends any consideration of economics. We feel that what anyone possesses beyond basic needs does not belong to that person but rather to the poor who are without it.

We believe in a withdrawal from the capitalist system so far as each one is able to do so. Toward this end we favor the establishment of a Distributist economy wherein those who have a vocation to the land will work on the farms surrounding the village and those who have other vocations will work in the village itself. In this way we will have a decentralized economy which will dispense with the state as we know it and will be federationist in character as was society during certain periods that preceded the rise of national states.

We believe in worker-ownership of the means of production and distribution, as distinguished from nationalization. This to be accomplished by centralized co-operatives and the elimination of a distinct employer class. It is revolution from below and not (as political revolutions are) from above. It calls for widespread and universal ownership by all people of property as a stepping stone to a communism that will be in accord with the Christian teaching of detachment from material goods and which, when realized, will express itself in common ownership.

We believe in the complete equality of all people, brothers and sisters, under the Fatherhood of God. Racism in any form is blasphemy against God who created all humankind in His image and who offers redemption to all. One comes to God freely or not at all and it is not the function of any person or institution to force the Faith on anyone. Persecution of any people is therefore a serious sin and denial of free will.

C.

## GLOBAL AWARENESS

1. U. S. FOREIGN POLICY: "COLD WAR" ATTITUDE
2. GLOBAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT
3. WORLD HUNGER
4. GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (GRADES 7-12)
5. MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING
6. SPECIAL FOCUS: THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA
7. SPECIAL FOCUS: BLACK STUDIES
8. GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (K-6)

This section on GLOBAL AWARENESS is divided in two different ways. Content-wise, the first part focuses on U.S. Foreign policy and on the meaning of development and the realities of poverty, hunger, and exploitation in the Third World. The second part of the content covers multicultural education and global interdependence.

These two parts have been written primarily for teachers and students in junior and senior high. Therefore, we are including a separate unit on GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (K-6) for teachers of younger students. In addition, there are units providing a special focus on two examples of multicultural understanding. THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA is geared to grades 7-12, while the unit on BLACK STUDIES has been written for both K-6 and 7-12.

## U. S. FOREIGN POLICY: "COLD WAR" ATTITUDE

### GOALS and RELEVANCE

A. American foreign policy is directly related to the attainment of peace in the world. It can be either a help or a hindrance toward this peace. Taking that into account, one goal of this unit is to examine the process of foreign policy decision making, including the President's role.

B. Another aim is to examine two areas of our foreign policy and their relationship to principles of international understanding, war, development of the Third World. These areas are 1) U.S. Cold War anti-communist ethic; 2) U.S. economic relationship with other countries, especially in the Third World.

### CONTENT and METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction. Ask students to write down:

1. What kinds of things come under "foreign policy?"
2. Who makes foreign policy; and
3. Problems in foreign policy.

B. The Foreign Policy Process

1. The Process: Introduce the students to this area by first using a booklet of U. S. Department of State on "How Foreign Policy Is Made" (US Gov't Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 -- 50¢), to give students the Government's public stand on foreign policy. Working from this the class could compare the goals listed on page 24 with the historical realities of our foreign policy and with the US Government's list of "national interests" presented in McGinnis article ("US Foreign Policy Process"). The US Gov't list:

- as a people, we seek
  - a world at peace;
  - a world open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people great or small live in angry isolation;
  - a world of independent nations, each having the institutions of its own choice and cooperating with others to their mutual advantage;
  - a world which provides sure and equitable means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and moves steadily toward a rule of law;
  - a world free of hatred and discrimination;
  - a world of equal rights and equal opportunities for all; in which the personal freedoms essential to the dignity of man are secure.
- ("How Foreign Policy is Made," p.24)

As a comparison with these stated goals, use the visuals available, perhaps "Who Invited U.S.?" -- described in unit on "Why War?"; or "Village by Village" (a report on the bombing of North Vietnam; color, 41 minutes). Both are available at the American Friends Service Committee. Also available is the filmstrip on the "Automated Air War" and its update, "The Post-War War," both on Indochina. "Guns or Butter?" is a slide/tape presentation on the military budget and defense industries. Available from SANE and also at our Institute.

Then discuss how the realities portrayed in these visual representations compare with the Gov't's goals. Note: these visuals require careful preparation of the students.

Another avenue is presented in "A Guide to Materials Available for Teaching U.S. Foreign Policy at the Secondary School Level" -- compiled by Maurice O. East, Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado. This guide makes the point that it is necessary for students to appreciate the complexities in decision making and strategic thinking in making foreign policy. Several simulation games are good tools for getting these concepts across;

Inter-Nation Simulation -- a very rich and complex simulation developed from the work of Harold Guetzkow and associates at Northwestern University; for grades 11-12; can be obtained from Science Research Associates, 259 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. 60611.

Dangerous Parallel -- experience in decision-making; simpler but better results in classroom situation than previous game; by Foreign Policy Association and available from Scott, Foresman & Co., 99 Bauer Dr., Oakland, NJ 07436.

A Simple Inter-Nation Simulation -- better suited for classroom use than other INS and only \$5; from The World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, John Wanamaker Store, 13th & Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

Another tool is "From Where I Sit" -- 27-minute film, B&W, documentary on the complexity of foreign policy issues, specifically on increased trade with communist countries and the question of fishing rights. Write US Dept. of State, Office of Medic Services, Rm. 5819 (A), Washington, D.C. 20520.

Also the State Department's Issues in U.S. Foreign Policy provide grounds for discussion. (See description in McGinnis article).

2. The President's Role in Foreign Policy.

The President's role has been greatly enhanced since the end of World War II, and the power of Congress over war and peace has greatly declined. The issue came to a head over the Vietnam War. A basic account of this historical change in the President's role is given in Thomas Fitzgerald, The Presidency: Does the Executive Have Too Much Power? Excellent for HS students; presents both sides and asks students to make own decisions. Concerning the 1972 & 1973 bombing of Cambodia and the "War Powers" of Congress, see a speech given by Senator Thomas Eagleton, (Congressional Record, Vol. 119, No. 51, Tuesday, April 3, 1973).



In regard to this point, the class might hold a debate and mock Senate vote on whether the President had the constitutional right to continue the bombing in Cambodia. More recent examples for debate include the question of military assistance and advisors to Angola (see Congressional Record for the weeks of December 8 and December 15, 1975).

Do those affected by U.S. Foreign policy have any control over it -- foreigners or the American public? See Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions, 1971, article on "Dissent, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy"

Besides the problem of centralization, a final point in the process of foreign policy making is a consideration of the two problems noted on pp. 3-4 of McGinnis article: what are our national interests and the role of expediency in foreign policy.

Perhaps consider these points by using a study of our policy toward one specific nation: Cuba or Chile. Have the students do research and argue for different kinds of foreign policy. E.G. maybe have a "pro-Allende" team and a "Pro-Junta" team. See Chile references below. These concepts lead into our next area --

### 3. Anti-Communist Attitude of U.S. Foreign Policy

a. brainstorm: words associated with Communism; then draw visual images of Communism.

b. our foreign policy since 1947 has been based on the assumption that Communism (Moscow - Peking) had plans for world conquest and that this was a moral threat to the US. Therefore we were obliged to lead the "free world's" crusade against this threat. Points to be discussed in a historical context concerning this premise are:

-- did the US and Britain delay the Second Front in World War II in order to let the Soviet Union bear the brunt of the fighting?

-- were the Russians motivated by Communism or by nationalism in their take-over of Eastern Europe? Wasn't it that they were looking for a safety perimeter in Eastern Europe?

-- why didn't the French and Italian Communists unite with Russian Communists, if Communism is oriented toward world domination rather than nationalism?

-- were the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, NATO active steps by the US to deny Russia its reasonable security interests and keep it in a "vice"?

These questions are reflections of the New Left arguments about the Cold War. Several good sources on this are:

Ronald Steel, "The X Article -- 25 Years Later", in Worldview, Vol. XV, No. 9, September 1972 (good readable article on anti-Communism and the UN); William A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (for teachers); Martin Herz, The Beginnings of the Cold War (readable by students, simple style and part is in a question-answer format).

After some historical background has been laid on the beginnings of the Cold War mentality, perhaps students could bring in articles from magazines and newspapers which reflect our present attitudes toward Russia and other Communist nations. Teams of students could become members of a diplomatic staff in each nation and formulate a policy. Have speakers who have been to Communist nations come in and talk about how they found life there. (See unit on "Intercultural Understanding: China"). See the discussion below on "U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights" for another way of delving into the anti-Communist perspective in U.S. foreign policy.

Movies: suggest showing a film like "The Red Nightmare" (Jack Webb) -- available from the public library or the Department of Defense; a strong anti-Communist line. Then counterbalance that with "The Selling of the Pentagon"; available from St. Louis Public Library.

### 4. U.S. Relation to the Third World

#### a. "Who Invited U.S.?"

It is important for students to perceive the links between the economic, political, and military policies and interventions that constitute what many people starkly call the imperialism of the U.S. and other industrialized nations. An excellent documentary on this is "Who Invited U.S.?" -- a 60-minute film produced by National Education Television, portraying the interrelationships among U.S. economic, political and military goals in the determination of U.S. foreign policy and the massive intervention of the U.S. around the world to protect and promote those goals. Specifically the film discusses (as should any presentation of this topic):

(1) Historical roots of U.S. intervention -- Manifest Destiny, the Open Door policy, the Philippines and Cuba, the Russian Revolution

(2) S.E. Asia

(3) Latin America, especially the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Bolivia, and the problem of nationalization of the copper mines in Chile.

(4) The training of Third World military and police forces, with emphasis on counter-insurgency forces in Bolivia.

(5) The involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This film is fast-moving and directed at older audiences (high school seniors and up) and can be split in two. The first half is sufficient to raise most of the important issues. Locally it is available through the American Friends Service Committee, and nationally through the Audio-visual Center at the Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

#### b. The U.S. and Chile

Perhaps the best recent case study linking U.S. economic and political interests in the Third World, in the framework of an anti-Communist perspective, is Chile and U.S. Government intervention: in attempts to prevent Salvador Allende's election, in the destabilization of his regime, in the overthrow by the military junta, in the subsequent re-introduction of foreign aid, and in almost total silence about the fate of thousands of political prisoners.

(1) For a sympathetic and concrete description of what Allende's socialism meant

for Chilean peasants, see the Maryknoll film Campamento (p.111, for a description). It is a difficult film for people rooted in an anti-Communist/anti-socialist perspective, and often high school students are troubled by the land takeover and the militancy of the people; but it is a powerful portrayal of the abilities and role of workers and peasants in Chilean society.

(2) More detailed descriptions of Allende's model of development include a packet of materials entitled Chile: Unmasking "Development", published by COFFLA, 1500 Farragut St., NW, Washington, DC 20011 (\$2); New Chile, a 208-page description of Allende's experiment in contrast with what preceded him in Chile, published by NACLA, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025 (\$2.50); Chile: State of War, a 51-page "eyewitness report" by representatives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom after the coup in 1973 and available from WILPF (their 4-page summary of the full report sells for 5¢ and would be a good information sheet for high school students); and two 6-page Center Surveys entitled "Allende and the Coup" and "Patterns of Development of the Chilean Economy" (20¢ each from the Center for the Study of Power and Peace).

(3) For current information on the situation in Chile, we recommend NACLA, the Third World Reader Service, the Latin American Bureau of the U.S. Catholic Conference, Latin America (an excellent weekly news-sheet on Latin America, available through the Maryknoll Book Service, Maryknoll, New York. 10545 at \$35.00/year and published by Latin American Newsletters, 432 Park Avenue South, NY, NY 10016 -- a 13-week trial subscription is available), and E.P.I.C.A. (1500 Farragut N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011), a group of religious who are astute political analysts/activists on Latin America in general and Chile in particular.

For the U.S. Government perspective, write to Chile Desk, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

#### C. U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights

(1) Given our national belief in the inalienability of human rights, ask students to explain the following actions of the U.S. Government. Discuss the importance of "anti-communism" as a factor in the events:

(a) In 1975, the U.S. provided military and economic assistance to 54 nations whose governments are authoritarian and to varying degrees "anti-communist." In many of them, like Chile, basic human rights are consistently being violated through such measures as the torturing of political prisoners.

(b) In 1975, Congress debated an amendment to the Military Assistance Program provided for in the 1975 Foreign Assistance Act. This amendment would have terminated programs and support for foreign police and prison training in the U.S. or abroad; and would have prohibited military assistance for any country which did not agree to inspection of its prisons by selected international agencies. The administration strongly opposed this amendment, but it passed both the House and Senate.

(c) In 1975, the U.S. House of Representatives passed 238 to 164 and the Senate passed by "voice vote" an amendment to the 1976 Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting U.S. development assistance to governments which engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights unless the aid directly benefited needy people. Strong public support was cited as one reason for the favorable votes.

(2) Have the students read a copy of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (see below) and discuss, among other things, the fact that in 1965 the U.N. called upon member states to ratify 9 human rights conventions (documents), but that by 1976 the U.S. had ratified only 1.

The Center for Teaching about Peace and War at Wayne State has published a teachers guide dealing with the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. It begins with an exercise challenging students to write their own national and international bill of rights. Most of the guide entitled The Human Family, Human Rights, and Peace, is the declaration itself with an excellent set of discussion questions with each of the "Articles."

(3) Order copies of "Human Rights -- A priority for Peace" from the Office of International Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference (50¢ each). It is a 32-page pamphlet presenting the realities of the arms race (particularly U.S. arms trade with Latin America) as a contrary weapon for peace. Then it presents the struggle for human rights (particularly in U.S. Congressional legislation on restrictions on military assistance) as a positive weapon for peace. The pamphlet contains excellent graphs on national budget priorities, liturgical suggestions, an introductory quiz, and a recommended format for use in an adult education program. But the pamphlet is also appropriate for high school juniors and seniors.

## OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Random House, Inc. 201 East 50th Street, New York City 10022, now has 4 paperbacks in their "Problems in World Order" series: Peacekeeping by Frankel, Reardon, and Carter about why nations go to war and how they attempt to preserve peace; War Criminals, War Victims by Metcalf, Reardon, and Low, using Andersonville, Nuremburg, Hiroshima, and My Lai to raise questions about the rights and responsibilities of individuals in time of war; The Struggle for Human Rights by Fraenkel, Reardon, and Carter, about human values and values conflict; The cold war and Beyond by Metcalf, Reardon, and Colby, about the Hungarian Rebellion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Arab-Israeli War. The list price is \$1.32 and the school price .99 per book. I encourage you to write for examination copies for your own information and as a means of encouraging Random House to publish more peace education materials. Grades 8-12.

B. The whole Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association would provide high school teachers with a set of valuable booklets (about 60-70 pages each) on different aspects of foreign policy. Issues have included several on global interdependence; others on China, India, energy and foreign policy, Cuba.

C. The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) publishes an excellent monthly journal entitled Latin America and Empire Report that examines in detail U.S. political, economic and military policy around the world, with a special focus on Latin America. They devote considerable time to researching the role of the multinational corporations in U.S. foreign policy. See p.138, for a description of their issue on the "U.S. Grain Arsenal."

D. Numerous "New Left" analyses of U.S. foreign policy have been published in the last 10 years. Besides those mentioned in the text, others include:

- Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

Carl Oglesby and Richard Schuall, Containment and Change (New York: Macmillan, 1967):

The United States in Vietnam: How Did It Happen? is a filmstrip and tape on how we got involved in Vietnam; for high school students. It is an excellent account with beautiful pictures of the Vietnamese people. Although it is honest about our bombing and our support of a dictatorship, the filmstrip does not burden us with guilt. It is produced by the Indochina Curriculum Group, 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 and sells for \$20.00. We have it at the Peace Institute and will rent it to you for \$1. to \$5.00, depending on your ability to pay.

For younger students, the Shalom Curriculum filmstrip, tape, map, and book Tell Them We Are People is also excellent and achieves much the same goals as the filmstrip above. It seems to me that in our social studies classes we should teach children about Vietnam. They were too young to understand it while the war went on and many of their parents and relatives held bitter feelings about it. Our job is to help younger people be honest and reflective about our recent history. \$25.25 from United Church Board of Homeland Ministries Division of Publication--Periodicals, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. The Peace Institute also offers this for rent for \$1-\$5.00, depending on your ability to pay.

From November 1-5, 1971, the United States Department of State sponsored a series of dialogues in conjunction with the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education. Sixteen college professors from across the United States were invited to the Scholar Diplomat Seminar to discuss issues and policies with members of the State Department and others connected with the American foreign policy process. Following are the reflections of James McGinnis, who represented the Institute for the Study of Peace at St. Louis University....

## U. S. FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

After a week of dialogue with representatives from all aspects/branches of the State Department and others involved in the making of US foreign policy, I want to put my observations and reflections in writing and invite you to respond. Quite sketchily, I will address myself to four points: the extent of planning in foreign policy, "democratic centralization," national interest, and expediency.

### 1. Foreign Policy Planning

Coordination and planning are two goals that the State Department has tried to pursue more vigorously in the past couple of years, though the lack of extensive long-range planning was a shock to me, confirming the intuition of many people that foreign policy is less policy and more "ad hoc" reaction. At the lowest level, the Department of State has introduced into the Latin American Bureau a system call CASP (Country Analysis and Strategy Paper). Each "country team" in the field (chiefly the representatives of State and the Foreign Service, of AID, of the United States Information Service, of Defense, and CIA--under the US ambassador in that country), in conjunction with the "desk officers" for that country back in the State Dept., prepares a yearly CASP in which they identify the various goals, objectives, actions, and costs that they determine to pursue for the next two years in light of a list of US national interests given them by the Latin American Bureau of the State Department and in light of the political, economic, social, attitudinal factors that they identify for their country. This CASP is reviewed and revised or approved by the Inter-departmental Group (IG) chaired by the Assistant Secretary of State, who is in charge of the Bureau, and composed of representatives from each participating agency/department. Equivalent plans from the other regional bureaus, as well as the Latin American CASPs, are reviewed, revised or approved by the Senior Review Group of the National Security Council and passed on to the President by the NSC.

Within this system, what planning there is takes place on a two-year basis for CASPs, though in fact the CASP generally represents merely an exercise in coordination of agency plans in the field, plans which in implementation are often "ad hoc" responses independent of the other agencies (this was an admission by State officials themselves). In fact with regard to crucial issues, such as the fisheries question with Ecuador (the 12-mile vs. 200-mile territorial limits for fishing, transportation, etc.), each agency sent its own independent recommendation to Washington, with a unified recommendation for the CASP brochure only. Any real planning is a function of the Inter-departmental Groups. These are the groups, plus the NSC to some extent, which would consider such a question as whether US national security is best served in the Third World by arms sales to "rightist" military regimes or economic and political assistance for more socialistic regimes.

The "flip side" of planning is evaluation, and here too the State Department is only beginning. Until the last two years, the inspectors sent from the Inspector General's Office of State to each overseas mission were solely concerned with how well foreign service personnel and others were fulfilling objectives, but never questioning the objectives themselves. This is changing, but it requires the type of inspector who has a broad vision of US foreign policy objectives. This is the type of inspector that the Dept. admits that it has not yet secured. Further, as recent articles in Time and elsewhere have disclosed, evaluation of foreign service personnel revolves as much around personalities as it does the quality of work.

One of the problems of the planning done at the CASP (and its equivalents for other regions) level and of the whole "country desk" system is that it is strictly bilateral rather than multilateral. Although President Nixon's "Foreign Assistance for the Seventies" plan is multilateral in direction, the whole State Dept. system is bilateral in operation. The Ecuador CASP is prepared independently of the Peru CASP, without any regional considerations at all.

### 2. "Democratic Centralization"

A second and related problem I confronted has been called by others the problem of "democratic centralization." Basically this refers to the internal decision-making process within the Executive Branch of government and can be described as follows: the various agencies/depts. within the Executive debating policy options, a decision being made by the



President, and all agencies involved closing ranks in support of this decision even if some persons/agencies advocated a different policy---and all of this removed from the American people as well as from other countries.

This centralization of decision-making and exclusion of the American public in the formation of foreign policy was vividly revealed with regard to the Amchitka underground nuclear test explosion by the U.S. scheduled for December 1971. When asked about the position the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was taking on Amchitka, ACDA's representative told us that he was not allowed to say that ACDA's position was presented in the internal debates, as is proper. Pressed further about ACDA's responsibility to the American public--specifically that its experts should consider as an important function of the agency to educate the people on issues of disarmament, like Amchitka, so that the people could express some intelligent opinion on the various options--an ACDA spokesman replied that that was our (the teachers) responsibility. Unfortunately, ACDA was created, in the eyes of many of its own personnel as well as other government officials (cf. the legislation creating ACDA), as an independent proponent for arms control, instead of the role it has been subsequently given--a negotiating arm of the Executive. As a result, there are no government experts publicly countering the scare tactics of the Pentagon in their announcements that new developments in Soviet weaponry create an imbalance in power/terror. As a further result, an independent arms control group, composed primarily of former ACDA officials, established itself only last month to make the American public a little less removed from this vital problem of national and international life.

What makes the phenomenon of centralization a problem is the grave lack of diversity of perspective among those who comprise the Executive Branch. Although ACDA and the Pentagon differ on many matters of disarmament, although there are many differences of opinion among the agencies/depts involved in foreign policy, I found a frightening unanimity of perspective on what constitutes our national interests. When challenged about the lack of diversity of basic perspective among members of the National Security Council, one of its members explained that the NSC under President Nixon does not operate in an "advocacy" manner. Rather, it generates all reasonable notions on an issue from the professionals in the various foreign policy agencies, presents these notions and the arguments for each, and allows the President to choose one of them--instead of giving him a consensus decision to either accept or reject. The problem here is the unified perspective which is the context within which an option is judged "reasonable" or not. Granted a basic diversity of perspective among a number of younger professionals in the State Dept., granted the immediate access of their ideas to Secretary Rogers' office through a mechanism known as the "Open Forum," there is still the unanimity of perspective above the lowest level and the practice of listening to dissenting ideas, praising the individual for his work, but admitting that policy cannot really change the way he would like it to. Further, any system that weeds out the Wall-Michel's, the Leon Panetta's, and the many HEW personnel cannot honestly claim that all legitimate options receive open examination.

The one encouraging, though minor, discovery in diversity/decentralization is the State Dept.'s Bureau of Public Affairs and its publication for high school groups, entitled Issues in United States Foreign Policy. Contrary to most of its other publications, the Issues series takes a question like the Middle East and presents a history of the problem, the various options available for US foreign policy, and invites students to choose among these options and helps them to see the consequences of each choice. This exercise in creative thinking in foreign policy matters is intended to make students aware of the complexity of such matters and to participate more intelligently in the national debate (however limited this is, because of centralization).

This centralization phenomenon in the Executive Branch has serious repercussions for the American public in another way. The representatives of the people--our congresspersons--have extremely small staffs in comparison to those of State, Defense, CIA, NSC, and information seems to be the name of the game in foreign policy. The Executive Branch is a colossus, and despite the willingness of State's Bureau of Congressional Relations to share the intelligence and research of State with congresspersons, it is questionable whether information adverse to present policies is as readily available, not to mention the more independent operations of the Pentagon and the CIA. Once more, democracy looks more like and ideal and less a reality.

### 3. National Interests

Another major problem, on which volumes could be written, is the question of what precisely constitutes our "national interests." Briefly, the problem I see is that national interest is interpreted quite narrowly or selfishly. During a discussion of our foreign policy with regard to Latin America, a State Dept. official claimed that moral considerations are not really a part of the decision-making process, with the exception of Cuba. Cuba represents "evil," the antithesis of our national interests, specifically

because Cuba does not allow us the economic benefits that other Third World countries have, because Cuba is not a ready buyer of US military equipment and provider of foreign bases, and because Cuba relies so heavily on the Soviet Union. Further questioning revealed that our national interests are primarily US national defense and US economic prosperity, and that these are almost unquestioningly considered to be better served by foreign governments allowing what Cuba will not allow us. That our nation interests might better be served in the long run by placing less emphasis on economic privileges for US corporations and on stable (and therefore generally "rightist" military regimes and more on social, political and economic development of Third World nations is an option talked about but apparently not seriously pursued, at least at this time. Vietnam, Cuba, Pakistan, Greece, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Chile, South Korea are only the most obvious examples.

The following inventory of national interests, given by the Latin American Bureau to each CASP group is indicative, if one were to see the high priority given in representative CASPs to numbers I, IV, and V.

#### DIRECT U.S. INTERESTS:

##### I. U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

- A. Preservation of alliances and other formal relationships
- B. Prevention of hostile alignments or installations of hostile forces and/or material in areas important to U.S. security
- C. Preservation of a government friendly to U.S.
- D. Strategic use of host country forces, facilities, territory, or material

##### II. PROTECTION OF U.S. CITIZENS

- A. U.S. Government officials
- B. Other U.S. citizens

##### III. PROTECTION OF PROPERTY OF:

- A. U.S. Government
- B. Corporations
- C. Private citizens

##### IV. ABILITY TO CONDUCT BUSINESS ON AT LEAST A "MOST FAVORED NATION" BASIS

- A. Access to markets
- B. Access to natural resources
- C. Ability to invest capital and repatriate profit

##### V. U. S. EXPORT OF GOODS AND SERVICES

##### VI. PRO-U.S. ATTITUDE ON PART OF:

- A. Wealthy
- B. Military
- C. Students and Intellectuals
- D. Government Decision-makers
- E. General Populace

##### VII. OFFICIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS REQUIRED TO ADVANCE ALL NATIONAL INTERESTS AND TO FULFILL U.S. STATUTORY OBLIGATIONS

- A. Preservation of diplomatic channels of communication
- B. Control of Immigration and Travel

#### INDIRECT U.S. INTERESTS:

##### VIII. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Political stability
- B. Respect for human rights
- C. Responsiveness of popular will
- D. Adherence to democratic procedures

##### IX. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (Economic growth and Economic stability)

##### X. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Equitable distribution of income
- B. Quality of life

## XI. WORLD ORDER

- A. Adherence to international law and conventions
- B. Abstention from acts of aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes
- C. Arms control and disarmament
- D. Free passage in war and peace
- E. Efficient international monetary and trading systems
- F. Collaboration in the resolution of environmental problems affecting all nations
- G. Provision of humanitarian relief for extraordinary needs--famine, refugees, epidemics

Even the seemingly altruistic aims of our foreign aid measures, which comprise our actions in response to the "Indirect US Interests" listed above, are coming to be seen as generally more in our narrow national interests than in the interests of the "recipient" nation. Idaho Senator Frank Church's disenchantment with our foreign aid programs (of The New Republic, Nov. 13, 1971--"Why I Voted No") is indicative of a growing number of foreign aid drop-outs.

## 4. "Expediency" in Foreign Policy

The final matter that distressed me during the seminars is the question of "expediency" in foreign policy. Again and again we were informed that foreign policy is a matter of expediency and the injection of "moral" considerations into the foreign policy process is an extremely dangerous move. The question of continuing arms sales to W. Pakistan while sending relief to Bangladesh refugees was asked several times. Each time the response was to the effect that if the US cut off aid to such governments, it would lose its ability to influence these governments to return to humane policies. This argument was used in reference to Greece, South Africa, Brazil, and others as well. It was pointed out that this was consistent with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's recommendations for US relations with existing regimes in Latin America and President Nixon's general policy of dealing with whatever governments are able to govern their people.

Unfortunately, there are a couple of problems with such policy. First, it is inconsistent. Many so-called Communist dictatorships are far less oppressive than some pro-Western military regimes. There is then a double-standard, the significant difference between the two groups of governments apparently being only their attitude toward the US.

But even here there is a problem. How disposed to the US are the governments in Pakistan, South Africa and Greece (1971), and how much pressure can the US actually bring to bear on them to become more humane? One State Dept. official, in defending military assistance to Greece in terms of NATO needs, was candid in his low estimate of US influence with such regimes.

And the question must be asked, what are the costs of such aid? It seems that much is sacrificed to preserve this expediency. There is another pressure that can be brought to bear on a government's policies, the pressure of world opinion. But this moral pressure is greatly reduced when it is discovered that ships continued to slip out of New York and Baltimore for W. Pakistan. It is hard to preserve credibility in an appeal to S. Africa or Brazil to respect human rights when we sell them the arms or train the police forces they use to deny these rights. To the retort that "if we don't sell them arms, there are other countries just waiting to do so," it seems to me that again we are sacrificing a real pressure for good in order to preserve a "sphere of influence" and to keep military sales up. But are these worth the costs?

These are a number of my observations and reflections. I was frequently told during the seminars that it was my responsibility as an educator to help enlighten the American electorate. The purpose of the week was to educate the educators and to thereby increase awareness of foreign policy matters among college students, especially future teachers. I have opened up a number of issues here, in the hope that some of you will reply--either developing your thoughts on any of these issues or questioning some the statements I have made.

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

- A. To come to a clearer understanding of the meaning of "development", so as to see the development of the U.S. as well as the development of the Third World as tasks requiring great effort; to see the poor of the world as more than "poor."
- B. To understand that poverty is basically powerlessness; to taste these realities of poverty, powerlessness and exploitations; and to begin to think creatively about what needs to be done to overcome them.
- C. To help teachers and students live out their responsibility to address themselves to these issues; to help them find ways of acting on behalf of the peoples of the Third World.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

## A. "Development"

1. Pre-tests: Have the students answer the "Survey Questionnaire on Global Development" enclosed (p. 100); and/or have them work out their own vision of "development" by listing all the characteristics of a country that would make it "underdeveloped" and then all the characteristics of a country that would make it "developed." Have them critique each other's lists and then refer to these lists as you go through this section, especially in reference to the films listed below. You might also have them refer to the descriptions of what it means to "live on less than \$200 a year" (see below) after they have described an "underdeveloped" country.

2. "Development" in human terms (see also pp. 236-37).

a. Development is much more than economic development, which is only a means to human development. Thus, development cannot be measured in a human way by a country's Gross National Product or by its per capita income, as economists are wont to do. Rather, development, according to such persons as Denis Goulet (read The Cruel Choice, Atheneum Press, 1971), involves:

(1) Three major goods: sufficient life goods (food, shelter, clothing, skills development, etc.), dignity or esteem (a sense of self-worth, partially through being able to make a contribution to one's society, family, etc.), and freedom (participation in decisions affecting one's life; some control over one's destiny, liberation from a sense of powerlessness in the face of economic, political, social or natural forces)

(2) Understood in such a sense, "development" is seen as a process - involving social, economic, political, cultural dimensions - whereby a society becomes more able to meet its human needs and aspirations. Such a view of development involves a strong critique of the materialism of the industrialized nations and states clearly that cultural values do not need to be sacrificed for the sake of "Development". Often, people in the developed world view the Third World as "backward" and that progress will only come when these "primit-

tives" modernize in a way that sacrifices all for efficiency and industrial mass production.

(3) A third implication of such a view of development is that there are other ways to develop that capitalism or capitalistic industrialization. See unit on PEACE, JUSTICE AND ECONOMICS.

(4) Such a view strongly suggests that industrialized countries, especially the United States, are not so "developed" as they think. Goulet speaks of the U.S. as "anti-developed", pointing to widespread alienation and materialism as signs that human and cultural values have been sacrificed for the sake of growth, efficiency and comfort. He speaks further of the need to "de-develop" - to reduce our levels of consumption, personal and industrial, so that the environment as well as our individual lives are not irreparably damaged or destroyed.

(5) Finally, it is crucial to help students perceive that the poor of this world are much more than "poor." In our efforts to elicit sympathy and concern for the poor, we often paint them in such negative images that students see the poor as inferior beings. While economic poverty has definite effects on the total life of the victims of poverty, it does not necessarily make them "underdeveloped" in a human sense.

## b. Resource Suggestions

(1) For ideas on generating the students' own views on development (as well as for this whole Section on development and poverty), the best source we have found is Jayne Millar, Focusing on Global Poverty and Development: A Resource Book for Educators (Overseas Development Council, 1974), here pp 69-86 and the short essays on development, pp. 268-306 (especially valuable are her essays on the value clashes involved in development).

(2) Some good audio-visual treatments we know of of this view of development are James McGinnis, "Third World Development: India a Case Study" (35-minute slide/cassette, and The Maryknoll, "Compimento" (described below, p. 111) and films "Of People and a Vision" (20-min description of the development efforts of President Nyerere in Tanzania in East Africa). See pp. 97-98 for a written description of his goals.

(3) See also "So You Want to Teach about Development", in Education for a Global Society, and the Intercom issue #69, Development: New Approaches, both published by the Center for War/Peace Studies. These contain a wealth of teaching and resource suggestions.

(4) "U.S.A. Packet on People and Systems" is a comparative study of the U.S., Tanzania, Cuba, and China, on how the people of these competing models of development "cope with five universal issues: education, health care, religion, work, the role and status of women." Geared to high school students, the essays are sympathetic to each model and written by knowledgeable



able professionals from each country. The "Leaders Guide" presents a variety of discussion questions. See also suggestions in MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING and CHINA.

## B. Global Poverty

### 1. The maldistribution of the world's resources

a. For a compilation of data on the maldistribution of resources (from televisions and radios to cars, doctors, fertilizer; about 40 items in all), we recommend the "Background Information" section of The Global City Kit, produced by our Institute (\$1 for the 60-page booklet; \$50 for the whole kit), and Part I of The Global City for an audio-visual presentation of the maldistribution of the world's resources. See also p. 148, for several examples:

b. See "Living on Less Than \$200 a Year", below, for a feel of what poverty means. We suggest that the teacher have her class close their eyes, visualize their own homes in detail (walk mentally through each room), and then listen with their eyes still shut to the essay, doing what it suggests.

c. The realities of scarcity. Many items that are not scarce for Americans are scarce for the peoples of the Third World and would be scarce for us too if we truly regarded ourselves as global citizens. In order for Americans to appreciate the false "plenty" of such items, we suggest that a class pick one item each week and declare it scarce. This means putting a price on the item that reflects what peoples in the Third World would pay for such an item, and having the students pay that price (the money over and above the American purchase price could be set aside as part of a "Third World fund," to be sent to people or groups working for the development of the Third World). As an example, Kleenex is a luxury in many countries - set a price of several dollars a box, and find out how "essential" our unthinking use of Kleenex really is! See LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE, pp. 340ff, for similar examples/suggestions.

d. Show the 5-minute Maryknoll film, "Faces of My Brother", and have the students reflect on the realities of the inequities of the distribution of resources. Have them recall scenes on television newscasts and their own face-to-face confrontations (or, more likely, their attempts to avoid such confrontations) with poverty and the poor in their own community. This is not designed to make them feel guilty, but rather to confront a glaring reality in the world today. Once that reality begins to get inside a person, and if the teacher is careful to help the students see how they can act in small ways to change the reality (or at least their own lives), then they are likely to do something about it.

e. "The Maldistribution Simulation" (see below, pp. 121ff) is designed to help students experience the realities of the maldistribution of the world's resources.

### 2. Poverty as Powerlessness

a. The meaning of "development" offered above implies clearly that poverty is more a matter of powerlessness than anything else. It is important, as soon as possible, to

break down the stereotypes of people being poor because they are lazy, stupid, or don't care. See the Survey Questionnaire in this unit and the suggestions in the unit on POVERTY, pp. 81ff.

Rather, the poor are almost totally dependent on outside forces, whether those forces are natural ones like water (floods and drought), or economic, political or social factors over which they have no control, or persons to whom they turn for their every need. Such dependence is the breeding ground for domination and exploitation, whether by groups within their countries or by First and Second World nations or corporations.

### b. Liberation: A Redistribution of Power

Thus, in the face of this poverty-due-to-powerlessness situation, what the Third World needs and is demanding in many cases is "liberation" from the sense and reality of relative powerlessness in the face of the economic, political, social, and natural forces that determine their destiny. This notion of "liberation" has become a central focus in politics and now in theology (called the "theology of liberation"). For religion teachers, a good source to start with is Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973) and the summary of the book entitled "Notes for a Theology of Liberation", in Theology Digest, XIX, 2 (Summer 1971). Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire are two other important names in this field, as are Frantz Fanon (Algeria) and Helder Camara (Brazil).

The activities below are designed to help the students begin to realize that the real solution to powerlessness and poverty is a sharing of power. The poor in the Third World countries cannot afford to depend on the slim change that the landlord, merchants, employers, Church, and often military regimes will provide a benevolent dictatorship for them. Neither can the countries of the Third World hope and wait for benevolent decisions from rich nations. Rather, they should share in those decisions and be full participants in international decision-making bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. So too must the poor in the Third World (and in "Third World" situations in our own country) effectively participate in the larger decisions that affect their lives.

### c. Resource/Teaching Suggestions (see also WORLD HUNGER, pp. 136ff)

(1) Have the students reflect on their own experience in school and in their family. Have these been situations of powerlessness for them? If so, in what ways? What are some good ways or mechanisms for insuring that their interests are really considered and provided for? Does all this shed some light on the situation and needs of Third World peoples?

(2) Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus (E.P. Dutton and Co., 1962) is an exceptionally moving and graphic first-hand account of poverty in the slums of Brazil. It details

Carolina's struggle to retain her humanity and the relative powerlessness of the poor to change the situation. High school students would have no difficulty understanding her story.

(3) A contrast to the powerlessness of Brazilian slum-dwellers is provided by the film Campamento mentioned above, for Campamento presents the possibilities for power that even the poor have when they band together. This is the story of a group of Chilean poor who take control of their own lives and build a new society where their slums once were, a society based on the vision of development offered here. This is the most concrete translation of the terms "participation" and "liberation" that we have seen. The film is geared to high school students and older and raises some difficult issues. It is further complicated by the fact that its main character was executed by the military junta, in September, 1973. But Campamento so beautifully portrays the people and struggles of the campamento that it is a "must."

(4) Simulation games offer students a good opportunity to climb into the shoes of other peoples. Two good simulations designed to provide the experience of powerlessness (as well as the maldistribution of resources, the rules of the game, and what can be done about it all) are

Starpower (directions for making your own kit available for \$3 from Simile II, P. O. Box 1023, La Jolla, California 92037) starts with an unequal distribution of wealth and thus of power, setting up a 3-tiered society with the chance of moving "upward".

Reds and Greens, see below, pp. 125-26, "The Maldistribution Simulation", pp. 121-24, can also be used in this context.

### 3. Internal Obstacles to Development

a. It is vital that students realize that while part of the problem of Third World development is due to industrialized countries and the economic rules of the game, part of the problem is due to the internal situation of most Third World countries. There is a tremendous gap between the rich and poor in most (non-socialist) Third World countries. The rich exploit the poor, block any meaningful land reform or resource distribution measures, exert enough political pressure to avoid paying just taxes, ship their money to Swiss banks, demand luxury imports instead of promoting an import policy designed to bring consumer goods to the majority of the population, maintain a social class system that impoverishes and threatens the dignity of many of the indigenous peoples (whether Indians in Latin America or Blacks in Africa).

#### b. What needs to be done?

(1) It is here that the essential point can be made that the real solutions to poverty and powerlessness

and underdevelopment in the Third World are not primarily technical ones (like birth control, the Green Revolution, better industrial efficiency), though these are important, but political ones, ones that demand a radical redistribution of wealth and power — real social revolutions. An excellent source is the pamphlet by Thomas Fenton, Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You, (Christopher's, NY, 1974), pp. 16-18, where he develops the criteria for evaluating the worth of any solutions to poverty.

(2) Fenton's suggestions revolve around the "empowerment" of Third World peoples to change their own situation. The enclosed essay on Paulo Freire's methods describes one of the most important developments in this direction — "Education and Social Change: The Paulo Freire Method." The best audio-visual in this regard is the Maryknoll Film "Campamento".

(3) More concretely, there are peoples' movements in the Third World that we can support. A number of us are helping the Gandhian movement in India through financial support to the village of Pattikalyana in northern India — the money goes for improved irrigation, which the Gandhian workers see as a tool for the development of cooperative farming (since irrigation forces small plot farmers to work together). Cooperative movements are crucial for both the human and economic development of Third World countries. There is the simple sign of support that all people, no matter what age, can do — write letters to persons struggling for justice in the Third World, encouraging them to continue. The people working with Dom Helder Camara, Catholic Archbishop of Recife in Northeastern Brazil, and people working with Justice and Peace in La Paz, Bolivia, are two groups that come immediately to mind. Pledge to them that you will search out ways in which to bring the kind of social revolution in this country that will help support their efforts.

(4) Help to empower "Third World" peoples in our own country — the United Farm Workers, Appalachian whites, Native Americans, urban Blacks, and many others. See the "Justice in the World" 7-module packet put together by the United States Catholic Conference's Division on World Justice and Peace, especially Module #2 in which W. Virginia is described as a model "Third World" situation in our own country. The Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on powerlessness in Appalachia — This Land is Home to Me — is a powerful statement and analysis of the exploitation and powerlessness of poverty and of the beauty of those we call "poor." See Part II, pp. 236ff, and Part I, POVERTY, p. 84.

### 4. External Powerlessness: The Economic Rules of the Game

a. Colonialism vs. Neo-colonialism. As the last vestiges of colonialism in the world seem to be disappearing with the Portuguese letting go in Africa, the charge of "imperialism" is often rejected by people, for they identify imperialism with colonialism. While "colonialism" can be understood as "the political control of an underdeveloped people whose social and economic life is directed by the dominant power," it is "neocolonialism" that needs understanding today. This can be defined as "the economic control of less developed people whose political and social life is directed, to greater or lesser degree

by a dominant power." As our "Global City Kit" tries to document in detail, it is neo-colonialism that the Third World must fight today if it is to achieve any control over its own resources and ultimately its own destiny.

#### b. Economic "Rules of the Game" \*

##### (1) Introduction

While there are many internal obstacles to development and justice for the Third World, it seems clear that it is the wealth and power of the rich nations that are the primary obstacle. Many people think that because countries like the United States were able to achieve economic development "on their own", any country who wanted to could do the same. But the Third World is struggling to achieve economic development at a time when one-third of the world has already attained that objective, at least relatively speaking. And this one-third, at least the capitalist industrial countries, has already established the "rules" by which economic development is to proceed. It is not because they are lazy or backward that Third World countries are economically underdeveloped, but largely because of their relative powerlessness to change the rules of the game.

A few Third World countries, those fortunate enough to have oil as their primary resource, have begun to play by the same rules and turn those rules to their advantage, to the consternation of the entire industrialized world. Before even fiercer retaliation for past exploitation surfaces, perhaps it is time to re-examine and change those rules. Those economic rules of the game involve at least four aspects: the terms of trade, foreign investment, the international monetary system, and foreign aid. These are difficult realities to understand and space does not permit us to develop each one of them. Because a number of things can be done about the terms of trade in the classroom as well as in reality, we have selected this "rule" for careful consideration. This and other "rules" are visually presented in Part II of "The Global City Kit."

##### (2) Terms of Trade

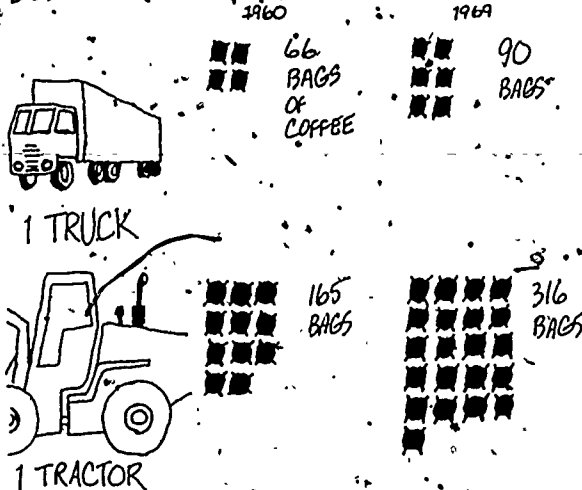
The terms of trade, that is, the relationship between the price of goods imported and the prices of those exported, is the first way in which the economic rules of the game are stacked against the Third World. For most underdeveloped countries, there is a widening gap from year to year between these earnings from the sale of exports and their expenditures for imports. Third World countries are largely looked into as being exporters of raw materials, like coffee, cotton, tin, oil, copper, and bananas. Many of these

countries are called "single export" countries. That is, they depend on one, or at most a few, commodities for the major portion of their exports. The less the strategic importance of these exports to the industrialized world, the greater the vulnerability of these countries.

Industrialized nations that export thousands of different commodities can handle a drop in the price of a few of these. But single export economies are quite vulnerable to changes in the prices of their goods. A drop of even 1¢ per pound in the price of raw coffee means that the coffee-producing countries -- Costa Rica and 40 others -- lose about \$65 million a year.<sup>2</sup>

While exporting raw materials, most of what Third World countries import are manufactured goods like machinery, processed rubber, auto parts, tools, transportation, etc. The steadily increased prices of these goods from industrialized countries means the loss of purchasing power in the Third World. With regard to the price of raw coffee, in ten years what a bag of coffee could buy was cut in half. In 1960, one tractor was the equivalent of 165 bags of coffee. By 1969, it took almost twice as many bags to purchase that same tractor.

### LOSS OF PURCHASING POWER



The situation continues to worsen. Between 1955 and 1975, a jeep went from the equivalent of 124 bags of coffee to 344. (See Maryknoll Magazine, March 1976).

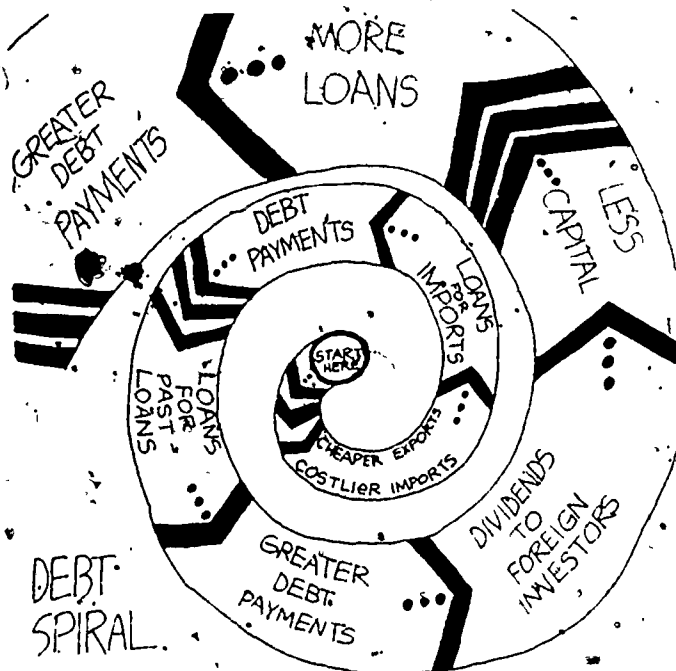
This pattern is part of what is known as the spiral of debt.

\* For the links between the economic rules of the game and the political and military policies and interventions that have helped to create and maintain poverty and injustice in the Third World, see the NET documentary film "Who Invited U.S.?" (see description, p. 102). Be sure to note the U.S. is not alone in such activity, although our share is quite extensive.

2 From Thomas Fenton, Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You (New York: The Christophers, 1974), p. 7.

According to Maryknoll Magazine (March 76), with a 1-cent increase, Colombia could earn the same amount that it is receiving in US aid this year -- loans which it will have to repay with interest. This is why the coffee countries say that trade is more important and more effective than aid.





This spiral begins with the Third World countries being locked in by the economic and military power of the rich countries to being exporters of cheaper items and importers of more expensive ones. Since their exports do not raise all the money needed for imports, Third World countries must take out loans. These loans must be repaid and further loans are generally required, which means even greater debt payments. If one adds on the dividends that must be paid to foreign investors, then even less money is available and thus more loans are necessary. There is no end to such a spiral, so long as the economic rules of the game go unchanged. Thus, since World War II, the growth of debt payments has increased much more rapidly for Third World countries than it has for rich countries. By 1965, this debt was over \$40 billion for the Third World, and by 1973, it had reached \$80 billion!<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the Third World becomes more and more dependent on rich countries and their international agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This dependence means that Third World countries often have great difficulty pursuing paths to development that do not coincide with the interests of these rich countries, as Chile, among others, found out when its former President, Salvador Allende, petitioned the World Bank to "re-schedule" Chile's debt payments.

What needs to be done, to reverse the spiral of debt that Third World countries find themselves in, partially because of the terms of trade? First, as illustrated by the example of the oil producing countries, other Third World countries must get higher profits on their exports. Many people,

among them Pope Paul VI, have called on the peoples of the rich countries to be willing to pay higher prices for their imports from the Third World. This must be coupled by basic changes in many Third World countries. The Brazilian generals, for instance, are unlikely to ensure that higher profits on raw coffee are passed on to the coffee workers themselves. But in the face of the general unwillingness in the industrialized world to voluntarily pay more for their imports, Third World countries need to learn from the oil producing countries and band together. Organized they can exert more pressure than they can as individual countries. This tactic the coffee and banana producing countries began to use in March of 1974, when both demanded 10% to 20% higher prices for their raw coffee and bananas. Educators can help interpret such events so that they are not perceived as the disasters that many claimed them to be.

Secondly, Third World countries must export more. North Americans and others must be willing to allow for the import of their raw materials and their manufactured goods, even if they compete with some of our own industries. Textiles is a good example. But we should not let the burden of the demand for justice fall on the shoulders of our textile workers alone, who would be put out of work if we were to import more textiles from the Far East, Latin America and elsewhere. As several Presidential commissions have recommended over the past few years, we need to make all the adjustments necessary -- the unemployment compensation, the development of alternative forms of employment, and job re-training.

Thirdly, industrialized countries must be willing to allow for the development of manufacturing industries in the Third World, rather than exert political and economic pressure to prevent such developments. It is in the export of manufactured goods, or at least in the ability to provide for some of one's own manufacturing needs, that the Third World can earn and save the foreign currency that it needs for the import of other manufactured items. This would further serve to reduce the harmful economic dependency noted earlier.

### (3) The "New International Economic Order"

These are only three of the many structural changes in the rules of the game that have been identified in the documents and debates on what is being called "The New International Economic Order". This global debate is of such significance that we are enclosing a summary of the issues as seen by the Office for World Justice and Peace, Archdiocese of New York (pp. 119).. We recommend you ordering a copy (free) of the basic documents involved and Congressional testimony on the NIEO (write Rep. Donald Fraser, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC, and ask for the "hearings" before his Subcommittee in May and July of 1975. And we recommend your keeping in touch with the debates/actions through the Office of Public Information of the UN, our Ambassador to the UN, and the Center of Concern and the Overseas Development Council in Washington, DC.

3 See James Howe, *Interdependence and the World Economy* New York: (Foreign Policy Association, 1974), p. 11.



## ACTIVITIES ON TRADE

1. See "Hershey Bar Exercise," pp. 135-36.

2. For senior high school students, the best short source on the terms of trade and on the economic rules of the game in general is Thomas Fenton's pamphlet Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You. It is also valuable because in offering solutions, it focuses on both what needs to be done in and by the Third World itself and by the rich nations, and on the criteria for evaluating any proposed solution. Part II of "The Global City" project focuses on the economic rules of the game and provides the visual dimension to the data above and in Fenton's pamphlet..

3. To help students realize how the terms of trade affects them, have them make a list of all the items they use in their life that come from other countries. Have them identify which of these items come from Third World countries and which come as manufactured goods and which come as raw materials. For instance:

ITEM	SOURCE (COUNTRY)	THIRD WORLD (YES OR NO)	MANUFACTURES GOOD ("MG") OR RAW MATERIAL ("RM")
Watch	Switzerland	No	MG
Bike tires	Indonesia or Brazil	Yes	Rubber as RM (processed in the U.S. or by a U.S.-based multinational corporation in Indonesia or Brazil, Uniroyal, for instance)
Hot chocolate	Nigeria, Brazil, Dominican Republic, among others	Yes	Cocoa beans as RM (processed by Nestles either in the U.S. or in the Third World)

Have the students compare lists, in order to develop as complete a list as possible. The import-export graphs and maps in elementary and secondary social studies textbooks are good resources for this activity.

One of the solutions suggested above was higher prices for raw materials from the Third World. What effect would an increase in the prices of the raw materials used by the students have on them? What is their reaction to such a suggested solution? What is society's reaction to such suggestions?

4. Next, have them experience the terms of trade from the Third World's point of view. You can simulate the terms of trade in your own classroom. Designate First, Second, and Third World groups or a U.S. group and several Third World countries. Designate such classroom items as food (their lunches), paper, and ink as raw materials, assign relatively low prices for these items, and give them to the Third World group(s). (Perhaps one item per group, so as to simulate single export economics). Then designate such items as books (from paper) and pens (partially from ink) and numerous other items (AV equipment, desks, etc.) as manufactured goods, assign relatively high prices for these items, and give them to the First World or U.S. groups.

Before conducting class, have the students do the best they can to get what they need for the school day. What happens to "Third World food" -- it is exported so that necessary manufactured items can be purchased, even if it means insufficient

## MY "GLOBAL DAY"

(where do all these come from?)

Food:

Clothes

Transportation

Appliances

Ideas

.....

.....

food for themselves. Raise and lower prices as you wish, announce crop failures or other disasters, and have the students experience the consequences. Be sure to allow enough time for de-briefing.

5. A more complete role-play of this kind has been worked out by the Maryknoll Global Awareness Program. "The Coffee Game" relates the terms of trade with investment and foreign aid and provides insight into how the coffee-producing countries are exploited by the industrialized world. This role-play is contained in Thomas Fenton, Education for Justice: A Resource Manual (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1975) and is geared to senior high students and older.

6. Have the students investigate the comprehensive Trade Bill of 1974 for its effects on the Third World. Using the three proposed solutions to the inequities in the terms of trade, have the students write their congresspersons and the White House and ask in what specific ways does this important piece of legislation promote greater justice for the Third World, as well as help the U.S. economy and U.S. workers. The more detailed the students' questions, the more specific and detailed the responses should be. Be sure to provide ample time to discuss the responses (or lack of responses).

7. Our Response is a Matter of Justice, Not Charity

a. Concept

This important attitude/principle means several things. First, it is saying that it is no longer, if it ever was, optional to work to redistribute power and the world's resources. The connection between "our" affluence and "their" poverty is so great that we (our lives and the institutions we participate in or sanction) clearly must change. Secondly, "justice" implies, as the following paragraphs indicate, that we get at the roots of the problems we see.

The one-to-one love of a person in need (what might be called the "works of mercy") is necessary but is not enough. We must also find ways of changing the situations/institutions that produce people in need in the first place. Such action(s) can be called the "works of justice."

Module #7 of the above mentioned "Justice in the World" packet describes this attitudinal change in detail, in the context of speaking to Christian Church people:

Caution: To say that a person has an obligation, not an option, to act on behalf of justice can be difficult here, especially for young people, unless at the same time you help them see how they can in fact act. See the action suggestions throughout this unit, in the next units, and especially in Part IV, "Living Peace and Justice."

b. Activities (See suggestions on WORLD HUNGER) pp. 134ff

#### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See bibliography in LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE and WORLD HUNGER.

See the excellent bibliographies in Jayne Millar, Focusing on Global Poverty and Development, from which some of the bibliographical material below is drawn.

See all the Communiqués (pamphlets) and short booklets on development, trade, foreign aid, and many other Third World themes, published by the Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C.

"The Jesuit Project on Third World Awareness" is a group in Chicago who offer weekend workshops and retreats focusing on the Third World, the intervention of the U.S. and responsibilities of American Christians and citizens. Write Fr. Joe Mulligan, S.J., 5430 S. University, Chicago, IL 60615.

#### 1. Economic Development in general

Kathleen Desmond, Introduction to Development: Bridge to Peace (Washington, DC: American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1970), currently under revision.

UNICEF has been dedicating its NEWS (in 1975) to women in the Third World. Third World Women and Women and Development are available at \$1.00 each. It is difficult

to find information on women in various countries in encyclopedias and other reference books. These could serve as such reference books. The UNICEF Secondary Teachers' Kit #5410 (\$1.50) features women in various countries. The information is good for supplemental use.

The Development ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ Puzzle is a loose-leaf sourcebook about "the rich world/poor world" divisions and efforts toward "one world" development" published by the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD), Parnell House, 25 Wilton Road, London S.W. 1, United Kingdom. Part I is a survey of the pieces of the puzzle that have resulted in injustice: trade, aid, population growth, health, etcetera. The second 2/3 of the book offers ideas for teaching. The major theme of these ideas is multicultural education. A number of teachers and professors have written readable essays on projects that work in schools and the needs of children. Finally, the last 20 pages or so list a wealth of material available from VCOAD and other sources. For us in the United States, the particular richness of this teacher aid is that its source of examples is generally not the United States. I think the Development Puzzle is a good tool for our own ongoing multicultural education. The book is primarily for middle grade and junior high teachers, but I think high school teachers could make good use of it. It sells for 99p. (\$6.00 including mailing).

La Lucha: Contemporary Issues in Latin America (An Action/Resource Packet), prepared by the Maryknoll Fathers, 110 Charles St., Hingham, Mass. 02043, containing a number of articles, talks, bibliographies. \$1.95.

"Teaching Toward Global Perspectives," Intercom No. 75 (New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1973).

Lester Brown, "The Interdependence of Nations," in Headline Series No. 212 (Foreign Policy Association, 1972).

Thomas Fenton, Education for Justice: A Resource Book (Maryknoll, N.Y., Orbis Press, 1975).

The Handwriting is on the Wall—A World Development Primer (Oklahoma City: World Neighbors, 1972).

Robert Hunter, ed., The U.S. and the Developing World: Agenda for Action (Overseas Development Council, 1975).

Global Awareness Program—a whole series of exercises and information sheets prepared by a group of Maryknoll Fathers, for use primarily in secondary schools. Revised edition available by writing Richard Callahan, M.M., 6398 Drexel Rd., Philadelphia, Pa. 19151. They are also available for workshops.

The Time is Ripe...The Stage is Set, by the Development Education Centre, Toronto, Ontario. These "educational sheets on international development" focus on the problems of global poverty, development, and what needs to be done.

Third World File, published by the Third World First Group, England. Contains a number of Third World Documents like President Nyerere (Tanzania)'s Arusha Declaration, and other documents representing both radical and re-

formist approaches to the Third World.

2. Trade (see also references in the "Global City" project)

Dollars, Jobs, Trade and Aid is #213 in the Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association. It does a good job on trade, with ample graphs and a consideration of other economic issues related to trade. December, 1972; \$1.00.

3. Foreign Aid (See also references in the "Global City" project)

Lester B. Pearson, Chairman, Partners in Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969)—basically, the best in the multilateral, UN approach to foreign aid, but still within the free enterprise model.

Denis Goulet and Michael Hudson, The Myth of Aid (New York: IDOC Books, 1971)—an excellent critique of U.S. foreign aid programs in general and in particular the Report on the Peterson Commission to the President, April, 1970.

Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism (Monthly Review Press, 1968).

Senator Frank Church, "A Liberal Takes his leave," Congressional Record, Oct. 29, 1971. Excellent analysis of foreign aid—write your congressperson for a copy.

Write the Government Printing Office for the Peterson Report and President Nixon's "Messages to Congress" on foreign aid, for the administration view.

4. Foreign Investment (See also references in the "Global City" project)

See the readings in Jayne Millar, Focusing on Global Poverty and Development.

"Multinational Corporations: The Quiet Revolution," Intercom No. 74 (Center for War/Peace Studies, 1973), presents several perspectives on MNCs, plus several teaching suggestions, including a role-play.

Ronald Müller and Richard Barnett, eds., The Earth Managers: The Global Reach of the "Multinational Corporation" (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), is a scholarly critique of MNCs and the economic system and values behind them.

"Yanqui Dollar", the issue of the North American Congress on Latin America dealing with the multinationals and U.S. investment in Latin America in general, is an excellent critical source. See p.138 for further details.

See the two Center Surveys on "Multinational Corporations," published by The Center for the Study of Power and Peace, for a summary view of the workings of MNCs, their effects, and different perspectives on them.

"Brazil: The Price of the Development Miracle" is a 30-minute slide show produced by the Development Education



## "THE MALDISTRIBUTION SIMULATION"

121

**Purpose:** To have the participants experience some of the realities of the maldistribution of the world's resources and the consequences of such realities, and to have them experience and work through some of the options available to the peoples of the world, rich as well as poor.

**Time:** A minimum of 20-30 minutes to play, longer if time permits; with at least 23-30 minutes for de-briefing as a group. The more time for reflection the better.

**Group Size:** The best results have occurred when the group was between 15 and 30 in number, although 15 is a little on the small side.

### Instructions for 3 Different Versions:

#### A. Simplest Version—for Younger Groups or Minimum Time

1. Divide the group into three "worlds", roughly reflecting the distribution of the world's population. This can be done in two ways. The simplest is to assign 2/3 of the group to the "Third World" (the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa); 1/6 to the "First World" (the countries of Western Europe, Japan, the U.S. and Canada); and 1/6 to the "Second World" (the countries of Eastern Europe, and the USSR). Otherwise, you could have the group count off in order—in 6's. All the 1's would be "First Worlders"; all the 2's Second Worlders; and all the 3's, 4's, 5's and 6's as Third Worlders. The advantage of this second way is the experience of the accident of birth. Assign the groups to different parts of the room, the best for 1st World.

2. Select one of the participants to be the "arms merchant". It should be a First Worlder. In order to keep the numbers in each group somewhat accurate, then "graduate" one of the Third World group to the First World. Give the arms merchant his/her instructions (see last page of this explanation). The teacher or other adult might play the role of arms merchant, with a group of younger participants.

3. Distribute the world's resources in the same proportion as they are distributed in reality.

#### a. Numbers

The First World receives roughly 75% of the resources; the Second World 15%; and the Third World 10%. There are highly unequal distribution patterns within each of these worlds, but younger students are probably not sophisticated enough for this further specification. See the next two versions for this addition.

#### b. Resources

Tokens like poker chips are the

handiest item to use, although younger participants might not grasp the importance of these items in the abstract (chips representing valuable resources). If you agree with this, you might use something they directly value, like candy, coke, their lunches, or the like. If you use poker chips we suggest 50 chips (perhaps 48, to keep division easy), if the group is closer to 30; 24 or 25 chips, if the group is closer to 15 participants. These resources represent the world's non-military resources. The third version of this simulation has those resources being the world's food, fuel and fertilizer—the focus being world hunger.

#### c. Military Resources

Give the First and Second Worlds one "super gun" each, before starting the simulation. The gun represents current military strength and can be used in the simulation in any way that the military in these two worlds are used in reality. If the guns are actually used (that is, fired vs. threatened), the facilitator determines who is killed and informs those killed to lie down somewhere until the simulation is completed. In any "shoot out", a "super gun" defeats a regular gun.

Inform the group that there are several other guns available for purchase from the arms merchant. Regular guns should cost half the number of chips (or some amount of the resources you use instead of chips) that the Second World has. A "super gun" then sells for the same number of chips that the Second World has. This is in order that both the First and Second Worlds can possibly buy additional weapons with their current resources.

Also inform the group that weapons can be converted back into non-military resources, should they so choose. The game's facilitator should have some extra chips. The conversion ratio is the same as above for buying weapons.

4. Inform the groups that their goal in the simulation is to "WORK OUT THE BEST POSSIBLE LIVING SITUATION THEY CAN FOR THEMSELVES." Repeat this direction a couple of times, so that no one should say at the end of the game that they were not sure about what they were supposed to do. This is a somewhat non-directive goal, but it is intended to allow participants the greatest possible latitude. It does not dictate a competitive ("us against them") orientation, though it suggests it. See below—our concern about repeating the simulation with a specific cooperative orientation. Then we have the groups commence.

5. Depending on the time allotted for the simulation, allow the interaction to proceed far enough for strategies to develop, for the Worlds to begin to interact with one another. This should happen within 20 minutes, and we have had good results allowing the simulation to run anywhere from 20 to 40 minutes. If more time is available (allowing at least as much time for de-briefing as for the simulation itself), let the simulation run longer, if the interaction seems productive.

B. First Variation, for More Sophisticated Groups



The real difference is the distribution of resources within each of the three worlds, and the assignment of specific rules within each world.

1. First World—assign them roles like corporate (e.g. oil company) executive, chairman of the Joint chiefs of Staff, a farmer and a couple of other ordinary folks. Give at least 50% of the chips to the corporate executive. Give the "super gun" and a few chips to the military leader. Give 33% of the chips to the middle class representatives (half of the group). Give the remainder to the representative(s) of the poor. Have each person make out a sign to pin or hang on their person describing their role—e.g. "First World Executive or "First World Poor."

2. Second World—here there are distribution problems even though these are socialist/communist countries. Appoint one member of the Second World to be the bureaucratic class and give that person at least 1/3 of the Second World's resources, and divide the remaining resources equally among the workers. Have them make their signs.

3. Third World—appoint one person to represent the oil-producing countries and give that person half of the Third World's resources. To bring the simulation up-to-date, you should announce to the whole group that, with the sudden increases in the cost of oil, some of the First World's wealth is being transferred to the Third World oil producers. Then take several of the First World's chips and give them to the oil producers' representatives. Give another 40% of the Third World's resources to the one person representing the wealthy few in the Third World (identified as landowner or military ruler or industrialist). Give the remaining 10% to the poor, identified on their signs as "Third World Poor". In the distribution of the few chips, there will probably be none for the Third World poor. Depending on how much you want to put into the simulation, you might designate these latter two roles as "Fourth World"—the poorest 40 or so countries in the Third World. If you separate out Third World and Fourth World, keep their physical locations at the beginning of the simulation close to each other.

A second addition to the basic version can be the detail of the physical location of the groups. The First World should have ample room to move about, ample light and heat and access to all facilities (e.g., toilet, coffee pot, soda machines, etc). The Second World should have some of the above advantages. The Third World and/or Fourth World should be in crowded quarters, perhaps without light or heat. You might add that they have access to the other facilities only the permission of the First or Second Worlds. You might forbid them movement out of their location without First or Second World approval, if you wish to add more detail.

### C. Second Variation—Focused on World Hunger

#### 1. Resources

Instead of the indefinite category of "non-military resources," designate the game's resources (chips) to be food, fuel, and fertilizer—3 items integral to an appreciation of the dimensions of world hunger. Have 3 different colors of chips, to designate the 3 different resources.

#### 2. Distribution of Resources

a. First World—to start, allocate (of 50 chips) 37, to be divided as follows: 18 food chips, 13 fuel chips, and 6 fertilizer chips. In terms of our suggested roles, you could divide the 37 chips as follows:

Oil Company/Agribusiness Executive: 18 total—8 fuel, 6 food, 4 fertilizer;  
Military representative: 6 total—3 fuel, 3 food, plus the "super gun";  
small farmer(s): 4 total—1 fuel, 2 food, 1 fertilizer;  
Middle class representative(s)—7 total: 1 fuel, 5 food, 1 fertilizer;  
Poor representative: 2 total—2 food

b. Second World—allocate 8 chips (of 50 chips), to be divided as follows: 3 food, 3 fuel, 2 fertilizer. In terms of our suggested roles, you could divide the 8 chips as follows:

c. Third World—to start, allocate 5 chips (of 50 chips), to be divided as follows:  
Oil producers representative—2 fuel chips;  
Third World wealthy—2 food chips;  
Third World poor—1 food chip among all of them.

d. Distribution adjustment, with the development of OPEC and Fourth World  
With the greatly increased cost of oil, and thus profits to the oil producers, designate the oil producer as the "Third World" and increase its chips from 2 to 10, as follows:

3 food chips (1 from the Third World poor, now designated as "Fourth World Poor", 1 from First World middle class; and 1 from First World poor—increased prices for fuel and thus fertilizer means higher food costs and less money for food, none of which any of these groups can afford)

3 fuel chips (2 from First World Oil Executive and 1 from First World Military)

2 fertilizer (1 from First World Oil Executive and 1 from First World Small Farmer)

Thus, there are changes in all First World roles; none in Second World roles; none for the Third World wealthy, except that they should now be designated as "Fourth World Wealthy"; and "Fourth World Poor" loses its single chip.

#### 3. Conversion Tables

Depending on how much you want to put into the simulation, you can add a number of conversion ratios; for instance,

1 fuel equals 1 fertilizer  
1 fertilizer equals 3 food in First and Second Worlds (where soil is nutrient rich)  
1 fertilizer equals 10 food in Third and Fourth Worlds (where soil is nutrient starving)  
1 gun equals 4 fuel and/or fertilizer chips  
1 super gun equals 8 fuel and/or fertilizer chips

Thus, it is necessary in this version for the facilitator or someone else, perhaps designated as "World Banker," to

handle the chips and have extra chips of all colors (kinds).

#### D. De-Briefing Any of the Versions

Be sure to allow at least 20-30 minutes for this group reflection; more time if possible. The larger the number of participants, the more time is required, so that each person has the opportunity to speak at least briefly. We suggest giving each of the 3 or 4 Worlds a certain amount of time to speak, going from one world to the next. The facilitators can interject whenever appropriate in the de-briefing—either their observations or some of the key questions or points that are listed on the "Things to Look For" sheet (see next page). It is important that each person be asked about how they felt about their role and their actions, as well as about what they actually did. One of the reasons we strongly suggest that the simulation be repeated is that persons often feel bad about what they did but add that they didn't see anything else they could do. Simulation should not only reveal our current reactions to ourselves, but open up possibilities for action that we didn't see before.

#### "Things to Look For"

The following are some of the things that have emerged from previous experiences with this simulation or are some of the things that people should be led to think about as a result of the simulation.

1. Do the groups tend toward global cooperation ("the best possible living situation" will occur if we work together) or toward a "life-boat ethic" (since we can't all make it, better us than them)?
2. How did each group (and individuals within each group) perceive "the best possible living situation"?
3. How essential was military security (getting guns) to "the best possible living situation"?
4. Which way did the wealthy portions of the Third World turn--toward the wealthy of the First World or toward the poor of the Third World? Third World businessman, political leaders, etc., face this choice all the time.
5. Did the wealthy in the three worlds think of themselves only or did they concern themselves with the responsibility of wealth? If the latter, how did they see themselves using their wealth responsibly (giving it away unconditionally; making sure it was used wisely by others; allowing others to decide how it would be used; or keeping decision-making power to themselves)?
6. With whom did the poor of the First World identify? Did they stay with the First World, or turn to the Second World or Third World?

7. Were violent or nonviolent approaches more prevalent in discussions among Third Worlders, especially the poor in the Third World?

8. Did some, especially in the Third World, feel out of it all, bored, or that "it doesn't make any difference anyway"?

9. What did the Second World think about itself and do? Did it see its future in some kind of power arrangement with the First World or in aligning itself with the Third World or in being a possible bridge between the First and Third Worlds working toward some kind of global community?

10. Did the Third World poor exploit the possibilities of "people power"? Where do the participants feel that real power lies?

11. Did the participants realize that weapons mean sacrificing other resources, that it is a matter of "guns or butter"?

12. Did the participants pick up the "accident of Birth"? That is, there was no essential reason why they were "born" First Worlders, Second Worlders, or Third Worlders?

#### E. Re-Playing the Simulation

As mentioned earlier, we strongly recommend re-playing the simulation with a clearly cooperative goal. This goal could be stated as follows:

"WORK OUT THE BEST POSSIBLE SITUATION FOR ALL OF YOU TOGETHER"

Most simulations leave the participants with a greater realization of how real and extensive the problem is but with little realization of the alternatives or solutions to the problem. We want participants in this simulation to have some experience of what it will take to correct the injustices involved in the maldistribution of the world's resources. And don't limit yourself to a second play, if you see that a third or fourth will produce even more insight.

#### F. Equipment

Squirt guns can be used for the regular guns, and something more elaborate for the "super guns". Otherwise, little classroom erasers for the regular guns and large erasers for the "super guns or something similar. Poker chips or some other similar item can be used to represent the world's resources. You need enough paper and marking pens (or the like) for each person to make a sign identifying their role, and pins or tape or string to hang or attach the sign to the person.

You might want to add a psychological dimension to the experience. A hat with a sign "We're number 1" or "I'm number 1" on it can be given to the person or group with the most chips at the beginning of the game. If this person or group changes in the course of the simulation, then the hat should be changed too. This introduces the psychological dimension of wealth. Probably the hat should not be used in the re-playing of the simulation, along more cooperative lines.

124  
Instructions for the Arms Merchant

1. Get the regular guns and "super guns" that are for sale in the simulation from the leader or facilitator, and keep these guns with you throughout the simulation.

2. We suggest the following prices for the guns:

Regular guns —

(half of the number of chips that the Second World has—ask the facilitator how many that is. If the total chips of the game is 50, then regular guns should cost 4 chips)

Super guns —

(same as the number of chips that the Second World has—again, ask the facilitator how many that is. If the total chips for the game is 50, then super guns should cost 8 chips)

But if you decide that there is a good reason for changing the prices, that is up to you. Also, whether you announce this change publicly or privately, that is, to all the groups or only to some groups or individuals, is also up to you to decide.

3. You should not wait throughout the whole simulation for people to come to you. If you feel that your product is not moving fast enough, you can do whatever you want to encourage sales.

4. In informing the groups of developments in the distribution of guns around the world (for example, announcing that the First World has just acquired another super gun, or that the Fourth World wealthy just acquired a regular gun), you need not confine yourself to the truth, but you can also spread rumors.

5. Finally, after playing this simulation, if you have any recommendations for further instructions for the arms merchant role, please send them to us or give them to your teacher and ask her to send them to us. Thanks.

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To the Facilitator(s)

We have played this simulation with a number of teacher groups over the past 3 years and have revised it each time, so as to incorporate the reflections of previous experience. We would be most grateful if you would send us your reflections on the simulation—what you liked best, how it could be improved, what other insights came from the experience besides the ones listed on the sheet of "Things to Look For".

Address comments to:

Jim McGinnis  
Institute for Education in Peace and Justice  
3700 West Pine  
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Also, how are the instructions? Any suggestions for improving these pages?

## GOALS

- A. To communicate the basic facts and urgency of the world hunger crisis, without misportraying the world's hungry as nothing but hungry people.
- B. To help students perceive the inter-relatedness of the hunger issue with many other peace and justice issues.
- C. To help students realize that hunger, like other aspects of poverty, is more a matter of relative powerlessness of the hungry and that any adequate solutions involve a redistribution of power and changes in economic, political and social structures. Emergency food aid is a necessary temporary measure only.
- D. To help teachers and students realize the attitudinal changes that must accompany structural changes if hunger is to be eliminated and find ways of working on these attitudinal changes.
- E. To help teachers and students see how they can act to alleviate hunger.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

A. Urgency of the Hunger Issue

1. Some introductory facts (see also the enclosed pamphlet, "That All May Eat")

-- normally some 400 million people suffer from severe malnutrition (half of them children). In 1974 and 1975, that number was about double; about 25% of the human family. Yet U.S. food aid shipments in 1975 were about 1/3 what they were in 1970.

-- world grain reserves are at their lowest level in 30 years: less than 27 days reserve of essential grains, compared with 90 days reserve in 1960. Yet, 50% of all land in the U.S. producing grain is still producing it for animal feed.

-- the price of oil (and thus fertilizer) has tripled, as has the price of grain, and thus non-oil producing developing nations have exorbitant fuel and food bills. The results -- in the hungry world, less food and long-term development efforts sidetracked; in the U.S., a balance of trade/payments surplus (tripled prices for food exports offset tripled prices for oil imports).

-- while population growth rates in poorer countries continue to rise (2%-2.5%), the affluence growth rates in developed countries continue to rise. Per capita consumption of beef in the U.S. climbed from 55 lbs in 1940 to 120 lbs in 1975, and Soviet purchases from the U.S. grain supply are largely going to cattle feed.

## 2. Activities

a. To appreciate the magnitude of the numbers involved, translate thousands of hungry people into seconds. One estimate of the number of people who starved to death in 1975 was 57 million. Counting 1,000 per second, it would take 16 hours to reach 57 million. One estimate of the number of people who were undernourished or malnourished that same year was 2 billion. Counting at the same rate, it would take 20 months of non-stop counting to reach it.

b. Have the students play the "Space-ship Earth" simulation as it is described in this Manual, with hunger as the key issue and the goal to handle the food problem as best you can. See pp.

c. For younger children, as a total group take a pretend trip to a far off desert island. Allow the children to dream what the island may be like. As they prepare to return, the group discovers the plane is broken and that there is no other way to get off the island. List the food that is on the plane and have them then consider what they will do with this food. Also help them to see various ways of dealing with the situation.

d. "Baldicer" is a simulation for high school students and adults, dealing with the dynamics of food production and consumption, technology and population growth. The interdependence of the world's economy is also experienced. It is a good starting point for a consideration of world hunger because it raises a number of questions and broadens the issue. Time: a minimum of 2 hours, with debriefing, although it can profitably go longer. Available from John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, VA 23209.

e. "Living on Less Than \$200 a Year" (see pp. 117-18) would be another way to translate the situation of the hungry into more graphic terms.

f. The statistics have to be translated into people, if students are to feel any identification with and willingness to work on behalf of hungry people. Films are one way, although we urge you to be careful to balance any exclusively negative (e.g., bloated bellies) images of the hungry with positive images of their culture and life.

(1) "Faces of My Brother", a 7-min Maryknoll production (see p. 110) is good.

(2) "Faces of Hunger", an 8-min 1976 Maryknoll production, depicts the gruesome sights of hunger, with some introductory facts on the causes of hunger. Two cautions in showing it to junior and senior high students -- the overwhelmingness of the sights and the danger of seeing the hungry as nothing but hungry.

(3) "Sahel, the Advancing Desert", 11-min, rental-free BBC production for Catholic Relief Services, is a visual report on the



African drought and its effects, especially on the lives of the people living there.

(4) The Best kind of identification comes from personal contact. If at all possible, we would recommend the kinds of experience described below (p. 137) with reference to the "Meals on Wheels" program.

## B. Hunger as a Matter of Powerlessness

### 1. An Asian Family

a. Reality -- it is the rule, not the exception, in Asia (and elsewhere) for families to spend about 90% of their "income" for food. In 1972, the price of grain triples. What does such a family do? See the situation of Sen Gupta in the "That All May Eat" flyer.

b. Activities -- have the students find out their family's yearly income, subtract 90% of it for food, and have them try to budget the rest. It seems like an impossible task, but it is reality for hundreds of millions. Then raise the price of food and ask them what they would do. For younger students, vary the activity by using counters to represent the number of dollars for the family income. Have them take out the necessary number to represent 90% of the income. Spend time brainstorming on the other things they want and feel they need and help them to determine the number of counters would be needed for each and then to further determine if they have enough counters for all they want. Then to discuss the reality of the situation.

### 2. U.S. Food Stamp Family

a. Reality -- despite attempts to portray food stamp recipients in the U.S. as "welfare cheats", U.S. Dept of Agriculture studies in 1975 revealed only 0.08% fraud in a \$5-\$6 billion program (write the National Conference of Catholic Charities for a summary of this USDA report). The reality is that about half the eligible recipients are not part of the program. Those who are find that they can eat less and less. Food stamps have been calculated according to an "economy diet" which has been admitted to be less than adequate nutritionally. Yet, while the cost of all food went up an average of 41.7% between December 1970 and March 1974, food stamp benefits went up only 34% and welfare payments rose by a meager 14.7%. (See "The High-Cost of Hunger in America", by Theodore H. Erickson, in the Fall 1974 issue of the Journal of Current Social Issues).

b. Activity -- have students decide what they would do in such a situation. See p. 137, for what students can do about the food stamp program. Some families might be willing to try out a "welfare diet" to find out just how well the poor in this country eat. Write the National Welfare Rights Organization for details. Younger students can often motivate their parents to do this. A first grader got his family to do it for Lent!

### 2. Peruvian Fish and Hunger

a. Reality -- Peru catches more fish than any other country in the world (10.6 million metric tons in 1971). Fish is one of the best sources of protein. And yet Peru is one of the worst protein deficient countries in the world. Why? Peru converts more than 95% of its fish catch into fishmeal for export to the US and Western Europe (the world-wide conversion average is about 45%). In 1968, the amount of Peruvian fishmeal used to feed U.S. livestock alone contained enough protein to meet the protein needs of 15 million people for that whole year, more than Peru's total population of 14 million. Since 1968, with the exception of the bad catch in 1973, the situation has not changed significantly between Peru and the First World.

Why does Peru export protein rather than feed its malnourished population? Part of the answer lies in the unfavorable terms of trade that prevail for the Third World in general. Peru's exports of raw materials -- 40% of which are fishmeal -- allow it to import much needed manufactured goods as well as some not so needed luxury goods. With greater profits on manufactured items than on raw materials, Peru must export more and more fish at faster and faster rates in order to provide the foreign exchange it needs to pay for imported manufactured goods. (See pp. 110-113, for a more complete discussion of the terms of trade). For further information on this, read Georg Borgstrom, "The Harvest of the Seas: How Fruitful and for Whom?", in The Environmental Crisis, edited by Harold W. Helfrich (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

b. Activities -- see pp. 113-14, for trade activities. You might also show our filmstrip, "World Hunger and Your Response" in this context. It examines the Peruvian fish question and the problems involved in the "Green Revolution" (benefitting wealthier farmers rather than poorer farmers).

### C. Solving Hunger Demands a Redistribution of Power

#### 1. Peruvian Fish

a. Reality -- Peruvian fish will continue to be converted into fishmeal and exported until the measures in the "New International Economic Order" dealing with the terms of trade (see pp. 119-20) become world policy and practice; that is, until Peru and other Third World countries are able to bargain more effectively on their own behalf in international economic organizations and forums such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)..

b. Activities -- see above.

#### 2. The Green Revolution

a. Reality -- along with the redistribution of power among nations, there has to be a redistribution of power within nations. Since World War II, we have put our faith in technological solutions to the world's food, and particularly protein, shortages. Most attention has been given to the Green Revolution with its "miracle seeds" and "miracle rice". Since these miracle seeds require costly fertilizer pesticides, irrigation, not to mention equipment, they largely went to the wealthier farmers of India and Pakistan. Thus, the technological breakthroughs of the Green Revolution have succeeded in widening the gap between rich and poor in several Third World nations. What this suggests is that such technological advances need to be coupled with political action designed to redistribute power to the poor and the small farmers of those countries which would help to redistribute the other resources necessary to make the miracle seeds produce as well as to redistribute the increased food produced by the seeds.

b. Activities -- have the students play "Reds and Greens" (see pp. 125-26), "Starpower", or "The Maldistribution Simulation" (pp. 121-24), and reflect on the necessity of the poor gaining power/leverage if their interests are to be taken seriously. Also, Part III of the "A World Hungry" filmstrips (see BIBLIOGRAPHY) examines this internal redistribution issue.

### 3. Agribusiness and the Small Farmer

a. Reality -- each year, about 100,000 farm families leave their land and the U.S. (and thus the world) becomes ever more dependent on the giant agribusiness corporations who control more and more of the world's food production. The giant farms owned by Boeing Aircraft, Purex, Good year Tire & Rubber, Royal Crown Cola, Tenneco, Dow Chemical, American Brands, Alico/ Bank of America, Prudential Insurance, Standard Oil of California, and others accounted for at least 1/3 of total sales by all farms by 1969, according to the Dept of Agriculture. These giants particularly control the marketing process in foods, to an extent that 3 or 4 corporations control most food industries -- for example, General Mills, General Foods, Kraftco, Del Monte, Heinz and Ralston Purina. Such control influences/determines not only prices, but also the kinds of food that will be available, how land will be used or misused. Crop subsidies, research subsidies (i.e., publicly financed university research), labor subsidies (farm workers still the least protected of all workers), tax subsidies (loopholes), and water subsidies (e.g., California State Water Project benefits primarily the giants) further re-inforce their power.

Family farm legislation, closing some of the tax loopholes, land redistribution measures, legislation to protect the dignity and rights of farm workers, strict environmental protection measures, consumer cooperatives, small farmer cooperatives are some of the necessary steps in curbing and beginning to redistribute the power of agribusiness. The Agribusiness Accountability Project also recommends our dealing directly with local farmers through such things as open-air markets and also putting pressure on agricultural universities to conduct research useful to consumers and small farmers, especially alternative technology and cooperatives.

For further information, write the Agribusiness Accountability Project, read the "Agribusiness Packet" from Network and the special issue of Win Magazine entitled "Eat It: Agribusiness, Farming and You." The Washington Memorandum of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference is a good monthly legislative source for the needs of the small farmers, as is the Washington Newsletter of the National Farmers Union.

#### b. Activities

(1) Each of the measures just mentioned could be fruitfully researched and acted upon, especially by high school students. The agribusiness corporations are also good objects of research. Besides the AAP, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility and the Food Research and Action Center are good sources for such research. As an

"appetizer", share the following "agri-business menu" with your students:

- Appetizer -- sauteed mushrooms by Clorox wrapped in Bacon by ITT
- Salad -- tossed salad of Dow Chemical lettuce and Gulf & Western tomatoes
- Entrees -- turkey by Greyhound and ham by Ling-Temco-Vought
- Vegetables -- carrots by Tenneco, artichokes by Purex, and apple sauce by American Brands
- Beverages -- wine by Heublein, beer by Phillip Morris, tea by Unilever, orange juice by Coca Cola
- Desserts -- chocolate cream pie by ITT, pudding by R.J. Reynolds, ice cream by Unilever, and almonds by Tenneco.

(reprinted with the permission of the Agribusiness Accountability Project)

#### D. Solving Hunger Demands an Interdependent Attitude and Structures

##### 1. The Attitudinal Change

As Pope Paul VI characterized it at the World Food Conference, the hunger crisis is a "crisis of solidarity." Looked together in a limited world of resources, we need to perceive how our way of life affects that of others and live much more interdependently or responsibly. Demonstrating this connection is crucial. One example -- because of soaring fertilizer prices, India purchased 1 million tons less in 1974. That amount of fertilizer in Indian soil would have produced about 10 million additional tons of grain, which would have fed 50 million Indian people for the whole year (at 400 lbs. of grain per person). But that same amount of fertilizer put into nutrient-rich soils, as in the U.S., produces somewhere between 2.4 and 5 million additional tons of grain, which feeds somewhere between 1.2 and 2.5 million North Americans for one year (at about 2,000 lbs. of grain per person). If the nations of the world thought interdependently, they would make sure that there was ample fertilizer for the nutrient-starved soils of much of the Third World. Instead, people in the developed world continue to use fertilizer for such "necessities" as golf courses, cemeteries, and lawns (about 3 million tons of fertilizer so used in 1974 in the U.S. alone).

##### 2. The Structural Change

The World Food Conference and its subsequent creation, the World Food Council, are steps in the direction these bodies are urging -- the creation of truly adequate global structures and global policies to handle a truly global problem. One important policy in the process of implementation is the creation of a world food reserve. Whether such a reserve will be administered globally (vs. grain-surplus nations or the corporations within these nations determining distribution) and the size of the reserve are still questions. Nations and corporations are reluctant to relinquish control. This is another example of a necessary redistribution of power in the direction of people truly responsive to the needs of the hungry.

##### 3. Activities

###### a. Connections

Have math students (and others) find and chart the connections between affluence and hunger. A book like Lester Brown's By Bread Alone, from the Overseas Development Council, contains a wealth of statistical information and graphs. One such connection relates to diet, as Frances Moore Lappe points out in her Diet for a Small Planet (1968 data), with regard to grain-fed beef:

20 million tons grain + fishmeal	→ fed to U.S. livestock	= 2-3 million tons of beef protein
means		
15-18 million tons lost (wasted)	= over-fed millions	+ under-fed billions

If we would eat the grain and fishmeal fed to U.S. livestock -- about 40% of which is edible -- the world's food supply would increase by 35% and 90% of the current protein shortage could be overcome, if the national and international mechanisms are set up to transfer the grain saved in wealthy countries to the hungry countries.

###### b. "Eating Interdependently"

On the question of meals, there are a number of possibilities. Have the students discuss the following options. Ask them which option(s) would do the most good for alleviating hunger, which option would be most appropriate for their school or class or family to do every once in a while to remind them about the problem of hunger, and which would be most appropriate for them to bring up at home as a possible action for their whole family.

## (1) Poverty Meal,

at which the typical meal of a poor person in another part of the world (or in one's own area) is served. Bread, rice and water would be typical for parts of Asia. Refried beans would be typical for parts of Latin America, while a potato would mirror other parts of Latin America.

## (2) Third World Banquet

at which one-third of the group is served a banquet dinner while the other 2/3 are served a poverty meal. Whether the well-fed 1/3 chooses to share is up to them. For more details, write CROP. A word of caution here -- this and other experiences raise a complex of emotions, from anger to guilt, embarrassment. It is crucial to spend a long time reflecting on the experience and, as part of this reflection, to examine ways in which people can act on the issue of hunger.

For younger students, this could be a Third World party in which 1/3 of the class gets all the nice treats and 2/3 get a small cracker. Allow them to share but do not force it. After the discussion of the event, perhaps all could share in a surprise party.

## (3) Fasting

Many student and other groups have fasted for 24 or 36 hours together, coming off the fast with only a poverty meal. For each hour of fasting, they have also arranged for "sponsors" to pay so much money, similar to "walks for development." The 24 or 36 hours are spent in reflection, study and discussion about world hunger (plus some fun). Such fasting is also an act of solidarity. For younger students, 24 hours is much too long. Begin to fast from snacks on specific days, relating it to the whole idea of experiencing hunger in a small way. After discussion with parents, perhaps a child/parent milk fast could take place. For "x" number of days both child and parent would drink only milk for lunch and between meals.

## (4) Eating Responsibly

Ask each member of the group to bring a lunch that represents a way of their eating "responsibly." Do not define beforehand what that means. Rather, have individuals figure that out for themselves and discuss their decisions before eating the meal.

## (5) Meatless Potluck Dinner

to which each person or family brings a meatless main dish that is relatively inexpensive, relatively easy to prepare, and that tastes good. See our own Eating as Brothers and Sisters (\$1.00) as an example. Collect and publish the recipes.

## Note:

With each of these options, some presentation about the realities of hunger and what we can do about it, along with a collection of the money saved by such eating and a decision about where to send the money, should accompany the meal. With the poverty meal, we suggest a presentation about the people who are eating the meal as their steady fare, as a way of identifying in some small way with them. The presentation should be sure to bring out the values/contributions of the people, as well as their hunger.

## (6) Home Economics Class

Using Diet for a Small Planet, Recipes for a Small Planet, Great Meatless Meals (each by Lappe and/or Ewald), and Eating as Brothers and Sisters, have a Home Economics class come up with meatless recipes for the cafeteria and for children in elementary and junior high -- recipes both nourishing and tasty for children. Audio-visual resources here include:

"Diet for a Small Planet," 1973, 28 min, color, 16mm, from Bullfrog Films, Box 114, Milford Square, PA 18935 (\$295; rental -- \$30), is based on the book and explores the ecological costs of meat protein and the art of cooking with complimentary non-meal items.

"World Hunger and Our Response", our own 1975 22 min, color filmstrip, examines briefly the relationship between meat consumption in the U.S. and world hunger; purchase \$15.

"Nutrition: Food vs. Health" -- see RESOURCES

## c. Pets

Pets in the U.S. eat much better than people in the Third World. Rather than condemn having pets, it seems better to have the students explore ways in which they can feed their pets more "responsibly." You might even collect their suggestions and print a booklet entitled "Feeding Pets Responsibly." Also, a child could keep track of the amount spent one week on pet food. Compare this with "living on less than \$200 a year" (p. 117)





## d. Fertilizer

As fertilizer is an important aspect of the hunger question, we should reflect on our use of fertilizer. The school, too, might ask this question. Gonzaga University in Spokane announced in late 1974 that it would not use fertilizer for green lawns but would ship its fertilizer to the Third World. Families, especially, but schools too, might consider using a part of its lawn area for a vegetable garden, thereby using fertilizer for food purposes rather than cosmetic purposes.

## e. Political Action

Letters to Congresspersons, the President and the Secretaries of State and Agriculture on behalf of a world food reserve under international administration, of the structural changes involved in the New International Economic Order, of new national budget priorities (human needs over military waste), and of much more willing participation in the World Food Council are crucial. Working with and through such lobbying organizations as Bread for the World increases our political effectiveness.

November 30  
Dear Senator Hatfield  
I don't like  
when children  
are hungry.  
Please vote so  
our country  
helps them.  
LOVE  
Michelle  
SUNDAY SCHOOL  
1st GRADE

E. Solving Hunger is a matter of Justice and not Charity

## 1. The Structural Change

The "market mechanisms" (the law of supply and demand) distribute food according to peoples' ability to pay, not their need to eat. If such mechanisms are appropriate for any commodities, they are certainly inappropriate for the distribution of food. Thus, U.S. exportable grain, for instance, ought not to go solely to nations who can afford to pay the high market prices of the 1970s.

Japan, the USSR and Western Europe. Similarly, food certainly ought not to be used as a political weapon, as many government officials have suggested and done. While U.S. foreign aid legislation in 1975 began to realize these changes, much more still needs to be done.

## 2. The Attitudinal Changes

a. The goods of the earth belong to the people of the earth, for their full human development.

b. This applies in a special way to food. The right to eat is a basic human right, second only to the right to life itself. See Article 25 of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, above, p. 104a. Further, to quote Pope Paul VI at the World Food Conference:

"The right to satisfy one's hunger must finally be recognized for everyone, according to the specific requirements of their age and activity. This right is based on the fact that all the goods of the earth are destined primarily for universal use and for the subsistence of all persons, before any individual appropriation."

c. U.S. farm productivity exists for the sake of all. To quote the testimony of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference to a Senate Ad Hoc Hearing on December 18, 1974:

"Although much of America's farm productivity is due to the application of advanced technology and the hard work and dedication of our farmers, it also results from the fact that this country is uniquely blessed with high productive soil, plentiful water resources and a moderate climate. These are blessings which we in the U.S. in no way earned or deserved. They rather are gifts of creation, part of the universal ecosystem provided by God to support all of humanity. Their stewardship and development, therefore, are responsibilities we bear to the rest of humankind...."

d. There is no right to private property in an exclusive sense, such that we could legitimately claim, as individuals or as a nation, that the only claim the hungry have on our agricultural productivity is one of charity -- we can choose (we have the moral option) to distribute our grain to those who cannot afford it, but we are under moral obligation to do so. Rather, private property is not an

absolute right, in our moral view. We are called on to be stewards of the goods in our possession and the right to use the world's resources belongs to all people. For further elaboration of this moral view, see William Byron, Toward Stewardship (New York: Paulist Press, 1975).

#### e. Wastefulness is Theft

While many religious groups have long held that using what one did not need when others went without what they needed is really theft (see Byron, pp. 35-44, and Pope Paul VI, On the Development of Peoples, #22-23), few people realize that former President Eisenhower said the same thing on April 16, 1953:

"EVERY GUN THAT IS MADE, EVERY WARSHIP LAUNCHED, EVERY ROCKET FIRED SIGNIFIES, IN THE FINAL SENSE, A THEFT FROM THOSE WHO HUNGER AND ARE NOT FED, THOSE WHO ARE COLD AND ARE NOT CLOTHED."

23 years later, the world is spending about \$250 - \$300 billion on the military (more than 1/3 of that total is for the U.S.). This is theft! What other label could be used to describe a situation in which every 14 hours the Pentagon outspends the entire annual budget of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N.

Two articles worth reading here are "Disarmament at the World Food Conference", by Homer A. Jack (Dec 1974; 508) and "Disarmament and Hunger: Life and Death for Planet Earth" (Jan 1975; 354), both published by the World Conference of Religion and Peace.

### 3. Activities

We are very concerned about the need for students to experience this attitude/approach to private property, for the prevailing view in our society is of private property as an absolute right -- "it's ours; we can do with it whatever we want!"

#### a. Stewardship

If students can experience their talents in a stewardship fashion: gifts meant for the service of others, we feel they can also see their other resources in the same way. Thus, we advocate cooperative ways of learning, such that students are sharing their skills with one another, as in group projects (see MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 295ff). Perhaps they could be encouraged to give as presents the teach-

ing of a skill to a younger brother or sister., See Part IV, for other suggestions.

#### b. Use/enjoyment of things not personally owned

We encourage teachers and parents to help their children to learn to enjoy things that they don't own. Public libraries can replace large personal libraries, record collections, and even art collections. Parks can replace backyard gym equipment. Toy exchanges can be arranged at gift-giving times -- instead of parents buying gifts for the friends of their children, the children themselves can select presents of "their own", fix them (with parents) if necessary, and give them to their friends themselves. This keeps novelty in their lives, but without the need to consume more and more.

#### c. Economic alternatives

We feel it is crucial to expose students to individuals and groups living out alternatives to private property, so that they see such living as possible, find new models, learn about economics first hand. More specifically, we suggest food coops, communities of people living according to need, "sparing and sharing" groups (see Part IV, pp. 340 ff).

d. On the relationship between hunger and military spending, see suggestions on pp. 224, 229.

### 4. Toward Socialism

The distribution of food primarily according to the need to eat, rather than to the ability to pay, is a necessary step if justice is to be more a reality than at present. Such a step is a clear step in the direction of a socialist set of values, and we see this particular step as a good starting point for a careful consideration of socialism. See our unit on JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, pp. 91-98.

## F. Other Classroom Suggestions

1. Math teachers -- have your students use their graphing skills to make the problem of hunger graphic. Have them be responsible for posters around the school that take the startling statistics of hunger and bring them home to the other students.

2. Fine Arts teachers -- yours is a special responsibility: to make sure that hunger presentations, displays, programs include the beauty and contributions of those who are hungry and of their culture. See unit on MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING. Art teachers can also work with math teachers and students in making the hunger issue (and efforts to overcome hunger) graphic.

3. Biology teachers -- in addition to questions of protein and energy, you have the whole question of population to examine. We suggest two resources to assist you. First, there is the Intercom issue #72, Teaching about Population, which is a wealth of short readings, graphs and teaching suggestions. Sr. Mary Ellen Barnes, CSJ, used it as the basis of her high school biology course on population and would be willing to offer suggestions. Write her c/o St. Joseph Motherhouse, 637 Cambridge, Boston, Mass. 02135. Secondly, the Center of Concern and NCEA have produced a curriculum on population. Write to the National Catholic Education Association for it.

4. Home Economics teachers -- in addition to the whole question of a more responsible (and more nourishing) diet, the more general question of "responsible living" (clothing, housing, buying, etc) is pertinent. See Part IV, pp. for suggestions. "Nutrition: Food vs. Health" (see BIBLIOGRAPHY below) would be a good AV resource here.

5. English teachers -- in addition to pertinent literature (like Child of the Dark; see p. 111-2), have your students study TV commercials about food (and about the "good life" in general). They need to see how they are being manipulated. Interpretative essays on food commercials is a "natural." You might have them start with McDonald's, Burger Chef, Burger King and the like.

6. Foreign Language teachers -- you are probably already doing this, but perhaps you did not see its relevance to hunger -- teaching the culture of the people who speak your languages. This is especially important if you are teaching Spanish, for many of the world's hungry speak Spanish.

7. Physical Education teachers -- proper care of our bodies has always been your concern. You might examine the whole question of diet and what are more responsible and more nourishing ways of caring for our bodies. Then, help students see their bodies (and the care of their bodies) in the context of "stewardship", that is, we care for our bodies so that we are better able to be of service. "I'm too tired to care" is said much too often.

8. Chemistry teachers -- help the students understand and evaluate the "Green Revolution." Then, there are the questions of protein and the whole energy issue.

9. Economics teachers -- take something like the Peruvian fish question and the terms of trade issue as a starting point and help students see how hunger interlocks with a whole range of larger economic issues. See the Bread for the World policy statement at the end of this unit. You would also find "The Global City Kit" (pp. 148-49) especially helpful.

10. In general, we would encourage teachers to work together -- interdisciplinary courses or some interdisciplinary sections within existing courses. Social studies teachers (and religion teachers) have the most opportunities to bring the hunger issue into their courses. Invite faculty members from other disciplines to work with you for several classes, to incorporate their expertise/perspective on the issue. We also encourage primary teachers to be creative in applying the above to the very young. Invite teachers and students from junior and senior high to work with you.

## G. Other Action/Service Suggestions

The following suggestions (like many of the previous ones) are designed to provide some firsthand experience of hunger and some continuity of concern (beyond a one-day program). Further, they are ways of linking the world hunger issue with hunger as it exists in our own communities. They involve both life-style and political action, for the two reinforce each other. Life-style struggles lend credibility to political action and deepen one's determination to be more politically effective. Political action is necessary if life-style changes are to result in any real shift of resources. Finally, these suggestions involve both

works of mercy and works of justice (see p. 323), for often students and adults are more comfortable starting with the works of mercy and such one-to-one involvement with the hungry tends to lead to greater concern for the justice/political action dimension.

### 1. "Free Food Table" vs. Waste

Schools are generally quite concerned about the extent of waste. One idea is to have a "free food table" where students can put any food they don't want that day and from which others who are (still) hungry can take. This need not be seen as a "poor" table, for some students forget their lunch money, others are hungrier on certain days, in addition to those students who don't have the money for adequate meals. Such a table would also help schools on "hot lunch" programs that require a certain amount of food to be placed on each tray, whether the student wants it or not. In this case, you would also recommend that your school administrator and school system administration write your State program (or HEW) director to inform them of your concern about waste. Some schools have also "saved" the food thrown away during a given day or week and displayed it prominently. It usually gets the message across.

### 2. "Meals on Wheels"

Most communities have some kind of program whereby a hot meal is brought to a number of elderly shut-ins each day. One program director has recommended that high school (or junior high) students accompany each meal to visit with the elderly person receiving it (instead of a driver merely dropping off a dozen meals at a time). Perhaps each student participating could do this once a week. Visiting the same person weekly could build up a real concern. Hopefully, this concern would spread to concern about other hungry people and to some of the roots of hunger in this country. Perhaps a primary student could work with the older student, with the older student preparing the younger one, planning what they can do while visiting and the follow up.

### 3. Sales Tax on Food

In some states, including Missouri, tax reform groups are working to repeal the sales tax on food and medicine, a tax which places an excessive burden on the poor. Students can help disseminate information and get signatures for a referendum.

### 4. Food Stamp Outreach

As mentioned above, at least 50% of those eligible for food stamps in 1975 and 1976 were not receiving them. The courts have told the Dept of Agriculture to make sure that mandatory "outreach" efforts in each state and local office be carried out. To date, not much more is being done to inform the hungry of their right and opportunity to eat. Find a group in your community concerned about this problem and see if they would like to have some of your high school students help them find the hungry and notify them of the Food Stamp program. There are "hunger coalitions" in many cities, and some training programs for such volunteer outreach. In Chicago, for instance, you should contact the 8th Day Center for Peace and Justice.

### 5. Local/National Action Groups

Bread for the World, World Hunger Action Coalition, Food for Life, and many other groups have formed in communities of all sizes around the country. Some are open to high school student involvement; others are interested in high school chapters; and all would be good exposure opportunities for your students. They need at least to see that and how others are working to overcome hunger. Hopefully, such exposure will lead to their own involvement, now or at least in the future. Even first graders can form a classroom Bread for the World group. Such groups would give the national organization extreme amounts of hope.

### 6. Food Stores and Waste

In some places, students have begun to contact local food stores (bakeries are a good place to start) to see what they do with their left-over food. They find that most of it is thrown out. Encourage the stores to find ways of sharing it with the hungry. Help them find such ways and assist in the distribution. Support legislative efforts like a bill introduced in the California legislature in late 1975 requiring such stores to seek out ways of distributing their surplus food. Younger students could do this with one of their parents, which would be a way of getting parents involved.

### 7. Political Action

Again, it is important to stress the importance of students learning how the political processes operate at all levels, to feel less uncomfortable and ignorant in these arenas, to know what legislation is pending that relates to hunger, and to find ways of influencing such legislation. One suggestion would be to have a speaker from your local Bread for the World chapter (write the national office for local names and addresses) to talk to your school.



about the political action dimension of hunger. The policy statement of Bread for the World, below, is our legislative guide on the hunger issue.

8. Adopting a Village/Mission (see pp. III, 151)

9. Corporate Responsibility -- Infant Formula

One startling revelation in the last couple of years has been the extent to which the corporations involved in the production of infant formula (Abbott Laboratories, American Home Products, Bristol-Myers, Nestle, and others) are contributing to world hunger by their hard-sell advertising in the Third World, where mothers who cannot afford full-strength formula water it down substantially; serve it in non-sterile bottles, and find their babies malnourished and their own milk dried up. Write to the Corporate Information Center for their April 1975 issue of "The Corporate Examiner" and its special supplement entitled "Formula for Malnutrition", share it with your high school students, and brainstorm with them how you all might appropriately act on the issue.

10. "Institutional Simplicity" (pp. 329-33) puts several of these and other action suggestions on world hunger in a developmental pattern -- individual acts, corporate acts, and structural change.

SELECTED OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

So much has been written and produced in the last two or three years on hunger that we are mentioning only those materials we have found especially helpful.

A. On the links between the hunger issue and U.S. foreign policy, we recommend:

"How We Cause World Hunger", an 8-page radical analysis of how world hunger relates to the U.S. economic system, plus good bibliography, by William Moyer & Pamela Haines and available for 20¢ from the Movement for a New Society.

The Myth of Aid, a critical analysis of the U.S. foreign aid program, especially the "Food for Peace" program, by Denis Goulet & Michael Hudson, and published by IDOC Books.

"U.S. Grain Arsenal" is the Oct 75 issue of NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report. It examines the central role of grain in the maintenance of the

U.S. economic empire. Of special interest are the essays documenting the use of food by the U.S. as a "political weapon" and the role of agribusiness.

B. For packets of articles and magazines on world hunger in general, we recommend several:

"World Hunger Resource Packet" from the American Friends Service Committee, NY office, 50¢.

"The Food Packet" from Network

"Food and Hunger Packet" from the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation (\$1.50).

"World Hunger Packet" from Catholic Relief Services.

A study/action packet from the Justice and Peace Office, Archdiocese of Detroit, is probably the best we have seen.

"The World Hunger Crisis: A Kit of Materials for Study and Action", from the World Without War Council, Berkeley (and prepared for the Grace Baptist Church, San Jose, CA); 85¢.

"The Hunger Kit", from the Program of Studies in Peace & Development, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, PA 19131, includes Art Simon's Bread for the World and data/materials relevant to hunger in Philadelphia as well as worldwide. \$2.50

C. On the population component, we recommend 2 articles, both reprinted by and available from Bread for the World.

"How Poverty Breeds Overpopulation (and not the other way around)", by Barry Commoner, is a 6-page explanation of the necessity of overcoming economic underdevelopment and hunger if population control is to be effective.

"The Trouble with Triage", by Alan Berg, is a 4-page refutation of "triage", with extensive statistical data and an evaluation of his and others' work in food and population control.

D. General works on hunger are legion. Some of the best include:

Bread for the World, by Art Simon of Bread for the World and published by Paulist Press in 1975. Perhaps the best simple (200-page) analysis of the hunger issue, with an emphasis on political action possibilities for U.S. citizens.

139

By Bread Alone, by Lester Brown, has already been mentioned. Condensations of his work include the 70-page pamphlet in the Headline Series (readable by high school juniors and seniors) entitled Our Daily Bread and published by the Foreign Policy Association, and an 8-page pamphlet in the Communique series (#21) published by the Overseas Development Council.

Maryknoll Magazine has published 2 special issues on world hunger, Nov 74 and MAR 76. Their special feature are pictures and stories that help to personalize both the problem and what is being done about it. Write Maryknoll, NY 10545

A much shorter overview is the special issue of "The People" on world hunger, published by the Paulist Center, 5 Park St., Boston, Mass. 02108. Ask them for other materials on world hunger, as well.

#### E. Films, Simulations and Other Teacher Materials:

"Hunger on Spaceship Earth," is an action-oriented resource packet including background readings, classroom exercises and questionnaires, alternative non-meat diets, resources, a complete simulation game similar to a "Third World Banquet", wall

charts, and action suggestions. \$2.50 from American Friends Service Committee, NY office. The same group has recently produced a filmstrip on world hunger, as well.

The Hungry World, by Elizabeth Stamp, is a Crossroads Series textbook which can be used from 6th through 12th grades; published by E.J. Arnold & Son, butterfly St., Hunslet Ln., Leeds 10, United Kingdom. (1972). It is an excellent resource, treating hunger, population, education, agriculture, use of water, trade and foreign aid and a good section on what is already being done on solutions. Especially useful for U.S. teachers because its origin is the U.K. A nation other than our own is used for all the home examples, made the center of the map, and made the point of comparison. Children can readily research the relevant U.S. statistics. Paperback, 6c \$2.00

"Women and Food" is #20 of the Institute for World Order's "Ways and Means" series and is a powerful concrete way of communicating this aspect of the hunger issue.

"A World Hungry" is a Teleketics presentation distributed by the Franciscan Communications Center. (1229 S. Santee St., Los Angeles, CA 90015). Divided into 5 filmstrips (10 min each), it offers a vision of the hunger issue that emphasizes the structural causes of hunger and what we can do about it. Part I examines 10 myths that prevent us from seeing the hunger issue as it is really. Part II analyzes 8 basic causes. Part III focuses on the ingredients necessary for 3rd World farmers to feed their countries. Parts IV & V discuss personal responses -- information, life-style, church action and political action. Primarily aimed at white middle-class North Americans, high school age and up. A valuable tool for an adult education series or 10-class or more unit for high school students. \$80.

"Teaching about World Hunger to Middle-Grade Children" is our title to the only slide show we have found geared specifically to younger students. Done by Cheryl Hollman Keene, it includes some of the structural changes (like land reform) necessary, as well as some of the life-style and individual actions that young people can do. Available at this point only from our Institute, on a rental basis (\$3-\$5).

"The Global City Kit" (see pp. 148-49) and "World Hunger and Our Response" are our own 2 filmstrips. The latter surveys the problem of malnutrition, the inadequacy of only technological solutions, 2 causes of hunger (unfavorable terms of trade and the affluence growth rate), and several things we can do about hunger (diet, fertilizer consumption, national and international political action); \$15 purchase includes several readings.

"Nutrition: Food vs. Health" is a 2-part filmstrip designed for junior & senior high viewers to encourage critical awareness of their own nutritional needs and eating habits. Part I, "The Food Game", uses a quiz-game format and satire to demonstrate our poor eating habits and their effects. Part II, "The Consumer Viewpoint", looks at the causes of poor nutrition and the role of manufacturers, advertisers and governmental agencies. Produced by Sunburst Communications in 1975 and available for \$45 from Mass Media Ministries, 2116 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218.

"Tilt" is a 20-minute, color, 16mm film made by the National Film Board of Canada and available from Film Distributors, Del Mar, CA 92014, for \$295, and a \$25 rental. It provides an especially good treatment of the 3 alternatives: 1) survival of the fittest; 2) making food available for exploitative reasons; and 3) responsible cooperation for mutual support.

## I. Goals

A. To see the world as an interdependent system in which what happens in one part of the world affects people all over the world; thus, to see the fallacy of the "Life-boat ethic".

B. To begin to see what it means to live as "interdependent beings," that is, to live in tune with the finiteness of the world's resources and with the needs of all the members of the human family.

## II. Content and Methodology

### A. Factual Interdependence

1. Concept (For the importance of considering "interdependence," see p. 165.)

The world is an interdependent system. Today, economic, political and scientific decisions taken in one country may affect more people outside that country than within it. The dramatic growth in interdependence among nations is in a sense, though, a two-sided phenomenon, as Lester Brown points out in The Interdependence of Nations. It can lead to new modes of cooperation among countries and, a more equitable, stable world order; or, it can lead to greater competition for scarce resources, to new forms of economic imperialism, and to a deteriorating world order. Will the nations of the world perceive the benefits of global cooperation in solving its truly global problems or will nationalism prevail?

A brief survey of many of the problems confronting the nations of the world reveals this factual interdependence. In the UNIT ON HUNGER, we looked at the scarcity of the world's grain, fish and fertilizer resources and saw how their use in some countries affects their availability in others. For another example, the continued use of DDT by farmers in Mexico, Brazil, and India contributes to dangerous levels of DDT in mothers' milk in the U.S. Pollution is another clear example; so is energy, as the oil shortages in this country the past couple of years revealed. Localized conflicts, as in the Middle East, are often not localized in their repercussions. Radioactive fallout from nuclear testing spreads far beyond a few deserted Pacific islands.

## 2. Activities

a. Before discussing the ideas of interdependence and global community with the students, it would be good to find out how they view the world as it now is and as they would like to see it: Do they see it as an interdependent system? A technique we learned from the Global Awareness Program of the Maryknoll Fathers involves a series of cards with dots. Ask the students to choose that card that portrays the world as it now is. Then ask them to choose the card that best portrays the world as they would like to see it.

See p. for the 5 cards with dots.

The teacher can return to this exercise later, if she wants to discuss the first steps toward building the global community. She could begin by referring to the students' choices and asking how do we get from your first card to your second card.

b. The younger the students, the more necessary we feel it is to help them perceive just how interdependent they are in their classroom or neighborhood. When so much is provided for them, they often perceive little of the extent of interdependence in their lives. Have them reflect on such simple items as their glass of milk or a neat idea they got at school. How many different people are involved in their having the milk or insight? Have them trace such things back to their source(s). See GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6, pp 165ff, for further suggestions.

### c. "Hershey Bar Exercise"

(1). 1st Variation--for Less Sophisticated Students

Children need to become aware that one of the major features of modern society is its increasing interdependence. Society, from the family unit to the global conglomeration of nation-states, is made up of a complex series of systems and subsystems. A simple way to get students, especially elementary ones, to realize this interdependence is through a simple item like the candy bar.

(a) Break the class into small groups.

(b) Suppose we think of a small town where most of the people earn their living working in a candy factory (Hershey, Pennsylvania is an obvious example). One group represents the candy town.

(c) Ask the class what goes into a candy bar. Besides sugar, chocolate and nuts, you might mention corn syrup and coconut. For each of these items, identify on a world map where it comes from:

--chocolate comes from cacao seeds, cultivated, among other places, in central Africa. A second group represents the Africans who grow and sell cacao seeds.  
--sugar might come from a Caribbean island - a third group.

--coconut from the South Pacific--a fourth group.  
--corn syrup from the corn fields of Iowa--a fifth group.  
--nuts from Brazil--a sixth group.  
--in addition, the candy needs a paper wrapper, which might involve a lumber company in the Pacific Northwest--a seventh group.

(d) Make sure that the children are well aware of the wide geographical distribution of each of these. Then, with each of the following events, ask the students how their groups might be affected:

--a drought in the midwest damages the



- corn crop, making corn syrup hard to get.
- a good advertising campaign on television makes many more people want to buy this particular brand of candy bar.
- a tropical storm destroys the plantations that sold their coconuts to the factory.
- a revolution in a Caribbean island cuts off an important supply of sugar.
- war in central Africa involves the cacao regions.
- the workers in the candy factory go on strike for higher wages.

(e) It is important that children not be overwhelmed by the potential catastrophes. Make sure that they see that none of the negative events will necessarily wipe out the candy bar industry. But these calamities would make things difficult for everybody involved. And that's the key concept: that even in a simple thing like a candy bar, we are mutually dependent on people scattered all over the world and events that we might not even be aware of.

From: Education for a Global Society (Center for War/Peace Studies) and reprinted with their permission.

(2) 2d variation, for more sophisticated groups.

(a) Do the 5 steps involved in the first variation. These are designed to help participants realize that they are all affected.

(b) Have each of the individuals or groups representing the various ingredients generate all the options they can in a few minutes, for what they can do about what happened to them. If there is ample time, encourage them to pursue one of those options (negotiation with one or more of the others should be encouraged).

(c) Have each of them examine the various options they generated (and/or pursued) to see whether they represent more of a cooperative approach to dealing with the situation (thinking of the needs of the others as well as oneself) or more of an "us-against-them" or "lifeboat ethic" approach (minimize our losses or use the situation to maximum gain for ourselves; bailing out on Hershey and looking for other markets; etc.).

(d) If, as probably will happen, there is a preponderance of "us-against-them" options, have them generate cooperative options--options designed to minimize the losses of all involved--and have them work together as groups to identify the most feasible way of handling the situation. Again, we want to stress the need to have participants experience not only the depth of the problem, but also options for solutions.

(3) Points to note in de-briefing

(a) First, it is vital to allow plenty of time for this.

(b) More sophisticated groups should experience something of the realities of terms of trade discussed in the section the "Economic Rules of the Game"

(pp. 111-13). For instance, Hershey is a "company town". That is, if the candy factory has to lay off workers, the whole economy of the town is affected (all those shops, services, etc., that depend on an employed work force spending its paychecks). This makes Hershey, Pa., somewhat similar to many "single export" nations in the Third World.

(c) Another economic reality occasionally experienced by sophisticated groups is the "need" for cash crops. The cacao bean farmers, for instance, can find themselves wanting to use their land to produce food for their hungry brothers and sisters, but realize that the present economic arrangements of the world "require" them to produce cash crops for export if their nation is to have any foreign exchange for necessary imports.

(d) Cooperative approaches often go beyond minimizing losses for all, concerned and raise serious questions about what should be produced in the first place. For instance, why two paper wrappers, given a world-wide paper shortage? Or, why candy bars, with all that sugar? We would encourage such questioning and ask you to help participants generate alternatives that will employ people in a way more conducive to the well-being of the human family.

d. "Spaceship Earth"

A more involved simulation than the Hershey Bar exercise is "Spaceship Earth." It is especially valuable because it clearly presents the two choices identified by Lester Brown in the "Concept" introductory section of this unit: Global cooperation or the "life-boat ethic". "Spaceship Earth" involves a whole curriculum for science, social studies, and the humanities, and is based on a view of the world as a spaceship--a self-contained, finite, closed system. What the Center for War/Peace Studies has done with this simulation (see Intercom #71) is to reduce the world and its basic social problems to a spaceship where the relationships between the problems and between the people involved in the spaceship become immediately apparent, in contrast with the world situation where we do not perceive how interdependent we really are.

(1) The starting point is as follows:

"Just for a moment imagine that you are a first-class passenger on a huge spaceship with thousands of passengers travelling through space at a speed of 66,000 mph. You discover that the craft's environment system is faulty. Passengers in some sections are actually dying due to the emission of poisonous gases into their oxygen supply. Furthermore, you learn that there is a serious shortage of provisions--food supplies are rapidly diminishing and the water supply, thought previously to be more than adequate, is rapidly becoming polluted due to fouling from breakdowns in the craft's waste and propulsion systems.

To complicate matters even more, in the economy sections where passengers are crowded together under the most difficult of situations, it is reported that many



are seriously ill. The ship's medical officers are able to help only a fraction of the sick and medicines are in short supply.

Mutinies have been reported, and although some of the crew and passengers are engaged in serious conflict in one of the compartments, it is hoped that this conflict is being contained successfully; however, there is widespread fear as to what may happen if it cannot be contained or resolved within that compartment.

The spacecraft has been designed with an overall destruct system, the controls of which have been carefully guarded. Unfortunately the number of technologists who have gained access to the destruct system has increased, and all of the crew and passengers have become uneasy due to evidences of mental instability in some of those gaining such access.

We could go on, but the point is: what would you do put in such a position? Now that you have imagined this situation, you are ready to face reality. You are on such a spaceship right now -- Spaceship Earth.

(2) Intercom #71 contains one complete version, originally designed for middle grade students. We feel that the older the students, the more they gain from this simulation.

### (3) Shorter Variation

We have developed a shorter variation and have used it exclusively with teacher groups, with a lot of detail. We feel it can be used with junior and senior high students, though perhaps with less detail.

(a) Have participants divide into groups of 10 and count off so that each person has a different number between 1 and 10.

(b) Assign roles as follows:

- "1"--first class passenger, the pilot, well-fed
- "2"--first class passenger, a consumer, well-fed
- "3"--second-class passenger, the doctor, well-fed
- "4"--second-class passenger, a consumer, well-fed
- "5"--third-class passenger, the ship's technician who controls the fuel supply, well-fed
- "6"--third-class passenger, undernourished
- "7"--third-class passenger, undernourished
- "8"--third-class passenger, malnourished
- "9"--third-class passenger, malnourished
- "10"--third-class passenger, starving

(c) After each person has carefully read over the the 6-paragraph starting-point statement (above), remind them of the ship's condition, and tell them to "deal with the food problem as best they can."

\* Reprinted from International Education for Space Ship Earth, by David C. King, New Dimensions Series #4, 1970; page 73. Foreign Policy Association has the copyright.

(d) Time dictates how long to let the group(s) proceed, but we would recommend 10-20 minutes. After you stop the proceedings, have the group(s) examine the kinds of solutions it was pursuing--were they "life-boat ethic" approaches or were they more cooperative? If they were more "life-boat ethic" oriented, have the group(s) deal with the food problem as best they can again, but this time with an explicit cooperative orientation, such as "..., so that all are able to have an adequate diet."

(e) De-briefing. Some of the things to point out, if they don't surface from the participants themselves:

i. the accident of birth--counting off to determine roles

ii. First, Second, and Third Worlds parallel the 3 different sections of the spaceship; #5 represents the oil-producing nations;

iii. Did an alliance between #5 and the other third-class passengers form, as it has in the world today, with the OPEC countries and the rest of the Third World holding a fairly unified position on the "New International Economic Order" (see pp. 119-20)?

iv. Did spreading access to the "destruct mechanism" of the spaceship make any difference? Are there any parallels in the world today (India, Israel, Egypt)?

(f) Possible additions, for more detail:

\*\*i. Make #6 a bio-chemist/food expert. Having such a person as a third-class passenger is important, to break down the myth that all the technological expertise in the world is in the First or Second Worlds; although this reduces the percentage of the world's population that is hungry;

ii. During the course of the playing, announce that access to the destruct mechanism has spread from #1 and #3 to include #5 and #9 (India). Generally, this greatly alters the course of action and may distort the reality of the situation--that the growing power of the Third World is more economic than military. But it does raise the "Peace and stability" reason for the well-fed to respond adequately to the needs of the hungry.

NOTE: See WORLD HUNGER, p. 129, for a variation of this simulation for much younger children.

### e. "The Global Village"

(1) Somewhat similar to our "Maldistribution Simulation" is an exercise developed by the Maryknoll Global Awareness Program and published in Thomas Fenton's Education for Justice. The "Global Village" exercise is designed to present the worldwide realities of the "village" and provide a situation for the participants to empathize with the peoples in the developing countries. In addition, it reduces the

world to a size small enough for participants to experience the interrelationships between First, Second and Third Worlds. We recommend your getting a copy of Fenton's manual and print just the starting point of the exercise here, in order to interest you in the whole.

(2) The exercise begins by reducing the world's population from about 4 billion to a village of 1000. Draw on the blackboard the outline of the village and indicate the location of the Atlantic lake in the middle of the village. Participants are asked how many people live in each section of the village. The approximate figures are:

North America	65
(U.S. and Canada)	
Latin America	80
Western Europe	90
Eastern Europe & USSR	110
Africa & Middle East	110
Asia	545

(3) The next step is to look at the style of life as it exists in the village. You would indicate that in the village the people who live around the Atlantic lake have the finest homes, businesses, factories, lights, etc. There, people are the approximately 300 "developed" people of the village, and have the economic, political and social control of the village. Students assigned to each section of the village are asked to research their own style of life in their section. We would recommend our "Global City Kit" at this point, with its wealth of statistical data, comparing styles of life (from doctors and food to TVs and cars) in the different sections/neighborhoods of the "Global Village" or "Global City."

(4) A variation of the Fenton exercise focuses more directly on the style of life in the U.S. section of the village and could be the starting point for a number of different discussions. It reads:

"If the world were a global village of 100 people, 1 of them would have a college education. Over 50 would be suffering from malnutrition, and over 80 would live in what we call substandard housing. If the world were a global village of 100 residents, 6 of them would be Americans. These 6 would have half the village's entire income; and the other 94 would exist on the other half. How would the wealthy 6 live 'in peace' with their neighbors? Surely they would be driven to arm themselves against the other 94...perhaps even to spend, as we do, more per person on military defense than the total per person income of the others."

#### f. "The Global City"

A more elaborate version of "Global Village" is the Global City concept, and kit developed by our Institute. We have reduced the world to a single city, with a population of 380,000 (dividing 1975 figures by 10,000), as a way of helping students perceive the realities of interdependence and what it means to live interdependently. The full kit is a series

of film strips and cassettes:

#### Examining--

Part I: The Maldistribution of Resources (with a special focus on world hunger); Part II: The Economic "Rules of the Game" (the terms of trade, foreign investment, and foreign aid); and Part III: Global Interdependence (a survey of global problems that can only be solved by a global approach and how we can live as citizens of "Global City."

The kit includes:

(1) 3 filmstrips and 3 cassettes for the modular version of the presentation;  
(2) An additional cassette for the 1-hour condensed version that uses parts of the 3 filmstrips;

(3) The basic map of "Global City", providing the basis for making a set of transparencies if desired;

(4) A Teachers' Guide for using and building on the Global City presentation, with a special section for elementary teachers for preparing their students for the Global City idea;

(5) A series of materials for use with the various sections of the presentation: Lester Brown, The Interdependence of Nations; James Howe, Interdependence and the World Economy; Intercom #73 ("Teaching Toward Global Perspectives"); Thomas Fenton, Coffee: The Rules of the Game and You; James McGinnis, Eating as Brothers and Sisters; "The Defense Monitor", December 1974; Maryknoll Magazine, March 1975; 3 "Communiques" ("US" Trade Goals and the Poor Countries," "The Changing Face of Food Scarcity," and "A 'People' Strategy of Development"); "The Maldistribution Simulation," by James McGinnis;

(6) A number of exercises and publication lists;

(7) 60 pages of "Background Information" on the topics of the presentation.

This kit is primarily designed for advanced senior high school students, college students, and adult groups. However, parts of it are applicable for younger high school students and junior high school students. The special section in the Teachers' Guide for elementary teachers makes the kit relevant for an entire elementary school faculty. Purchase \$50; Rental \$15.

Included in the kit is an extended role-play, through which students experience the current Global City and then are challenged to build an alternative Global City. Some brief suggestions on both:

#### (a) Experiencing the present Global City.

Have the teacher(s) and students divide the classroom or school up into three "Worlds". If space is large enough, each "World" might be divided up into continents or countries. Boundary lines should be established. Each neighborhood of Global City could maintain its own bulletin board if decorating the entire area is unfeasible. This board would contain information, pictures, etc., about the people living there. Care should be taken that both positive and negative aspects of life in that neighbor-

hood are portrayed.

Simulate as much as possible actual conditions in each neighborhood; for example, the extent of food each group has, the number and quality of educational materials, the light and heat, the clothes, the access to other parts of Global City, access to facilities like bathrooms and soda machines. "The Maldistribution Simulation" described earlier (pp. 121-24) is quite appropriate here. Also, the exercises on trade in the same unit provide opportunities to expand this half of the role-play.

#### (b) Building an alternative Global City.

Many possibilities exist here. The "Spaceship Earth" simulation provides a way in which to build an alternative to the present. Have the students re-play "The Maldistribution Simulation" with the specific goal of redistributing the world's resources in a "just" way. Or have them take the simulated Global City in their classroom or school and re-organize it in such a way that they feel they have created a real global community. On another level, make the whole class (or representatives of each Global City neighborhood) the City Council of Global City and have them decide now to allocate the city's resources or city budget. Other simple exercises include asking them to construct a transportation system for their Global City or decide on hospitals, schools, parks, shopping centers, etc. Will each neighborhood want its own of each of these and other items, or will the representatives be willing to trust in one another enough to have consolidated facilities? A lot of values will be expressed in these decisions, like trust, diversity, cooperation, centralization vs. decentralization. See the unit on "Peace Is Possible" (pp. 14-16) for much more detailed suggestions on helping students envision and build alternative futures that are more consistent with the values of peace and justice.

#### 9. "Columbus in the World; the World in Columbus"

One way we encouraged schools and communities to celebrate the Bi-Centennial was to link our national independence with our global interdependence. Without the rest of the world, we simply would not be, but few of us actually believe this. One way to demonstrate such interdependence (and possibly do some community education at the same time) is to do for your own community what Dr. Chadwick Alger from Ohio State and a group of students for the community of Columbus, Ohio. In their own words:

(1) The people of Columbus tend not to view their city as extensively involved in international relations. But Columbus citizens are increasingly in contact with people from all continents. Although it is an inland city, has no foreign consulates and no scheduled direct flights to foreign cities, Columbus has an amazing range of foreign contacts.

#### "(2) COLUMBUS IN THE WORLD"

In 1972, some 29,000 tickets were bought in Columbus for flights from Port Columbus to foreign cities.

In 1972, \$134 million of goods was shipped from Columbus to foreign destinations. The primary products exported were machinery, scientific equipment and chemicals.

In 1972, Columbus businessmen made 1190 trips to Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe and Latin America.

In 1972, Ohio State University personnel visited 72 countries in all continents of the world.

In 1972, Columbus churches sent over \$3 million overseas.

#### "(3) THE WORLD IN COLUMBUS"

There are over 1,100 foreign students in Columbus colleges and universities.

Columbus churches, voluntary organizations, universities and businesses hosted over 7,000 foreign visitors in 1972.

Some 17,000 people who were born abroad live in the Columbus area.

Last year foreign artists appeared in over 40 events in the performing arts in Columbus.

#### "(4) How Did We Find Out?"

It is not easy to find out how a city links to the world. We have used a variety of techniques--

Some 250 people involved in international activity were called on the telephone.

Seventy people highly involved in international activities were interviewed in person.

Forty-one hundred questionnaires were mailed to individuals and organizations.

Information has been found in newspapers, government reports, university theses and annual reports of organizations.

Preliminary reports have been read by many citizens involved in international activities and small groups of people--church leaders, voluntary organization leaders, foreign students and host families--have met with us to critique our reports and make suggestions for further inquiry.

#### "(5) How Can You Find Out?"

A number of brief reports have been prepared so that we can share our findings with anyone in Columbus who is interested. Each report deals with a specific aspect of Columbus international activity, such as The International Travel of Columbus (No. 2), Voluntary Organizations (No. 3), The Religious Community (No. 4), Exporters and Importers (No. 5), The International Activities of Columbus Service Industries (No. 6), Ohio State University Faculty (No. 7), Foreign Students at Ohio State University (No. 8), Hosting International Visitors in Columbus (No.



9), Columbus and the Military (No. 10), Columbus and the Arts (No. 11), Agriculture (No. 12), and Ethnic Groups and Foreign Born (No. 13). Other reports compare some of the international activity in Columbus with other cities in Ohio and in other states. There are also reports on the activities through which Columbus is linked with specific regions of the world, such as Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe and Latin America. These reports are available free of charge!

#### "(6) There is More

Most of these brief reports are based on longer reports that are not being widely distributed, since they contain more detail than will be of interest to many readers. But these reports are available upon request to those who wish to learn more about a particular aspect of international activity in Columbus.

#### "(7) What is the Goal of the Project?

The goal is to stimulate more interest in international activity in Columbus by making people more aware of this activity. It is expected that this will make it possible for people to perceive more explicitly the ways in which they and their community are interdependent with the world. Hopefully, the citizens of Columbus will make more informed judgments about the ways in which their own community and job are interdependent with the world. They may also be in a better position to evaluate these activities in the light of their personal goals and values."

*Sponsored by Transnational Intellectual Cooperation program, Chadwick F. Alger, Director, Merston Center • The Ohio State University*

For any of these reports and for further information, write Dr. Chadwick Alger, 199 W. 10th Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201 (614-422-1831).

### B. Moral Interdependence

#### Concept

The realization of the factual interdependence of the world and of our lives is only the first step. The awareness that many of the problems confronting us individually and as nations are problems confronting the whole human race and can only be solved if the human race attacks them globally is an invitation to each of us to live as global citizens building a global community. Factual or material interdependence has to lead us to moral interdependence, that is, the decision to live as interdependent beings, as residents of a "global city," as brother and sister to the whole human family.

If we look at American History, this notion of global citizenship should become less threatening. Students should be able to see the relationship between the development of the United States from a series of more or less independent states to a "United" States and the development of the world from a series of more or less independent nation-states to a world community. The transition of loyalty from the state to the nation was a major step 200 years ago. The transition of loyalty from the nation-state to the

world community is the same kind of major step we must take today.

#### Activities

1. "World Pledge"—See GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6, p. 169.

2. "Shakertown Pledge":

"Recognizing that the earth and the fullness thereof is a gift from our gracious God, and that we are called to cherish, nurture, and provide loving stewardship for the earth's resources,

And recognizing that life itself is a gift, and a call to responsibility, joy, and celebration,

I make the following declarations:

a. I declare myself to be a world citizen.

b. I commit myself to lead an ecologically sound life.

c. I commit myself to lead a life of creative simplicity, and to share my personal wealth with the world's poor.

d. I commit myself to join with others in reshaping institutions in order to bring about a more just global society in which each person has full access to the needed resources for physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual growth.

e. I commit myself to occupational accountability, and in so doing to seek to avoid the creation of products which cause harm to others.

f. I affirm the gift of my body, and commit myself to its proper nourishment and physical well-being.

g. I commit myself to examine continually my relations with others, and to attempt to relate honestly, morally, and lovingly to those around me.

h. I commit myself to personal renewal through prayer, meditation, and study.

i. I commit myself to responsible participation in a community of faith."

#### 3. Reading Interdependently

Such pledges imply and challenge us to a number of ways of living as interdependent beings. To care for every living thing and for our natural environment requires us to keep informed about a wide range of issues. Throughout this book we have suggested a variety of readings for teachers and students on many issues. Newsletters like the Washington Bulletin of the Friends Committee on National Legislation and that of Network are two of the best sources for trying to keep up with some of legislative dimensions of living interdependently.

A second way of dealing with the need for information is through study groups, groups that attempt to get behind the issues to underlying causes, that look toward solutions and provide some opportunity to act on the issues. Such study groups are especially helpful in that each individual can take responsibility for a limited area of research and shares that with the whole group and the whole



group can reinforce the commitment of each of the participants. "The Macro-analysis" program of the Movement for a New Society (4719 Cedar, Philadelphia, Pa. 19143) is one such program for any group of adults (faculty, community, etc.) interested in serious study. But the program can also provide the basis for a thorough reading program for an individual. See p. 342.

#### 4. "Mundialization"

Such study programs and Peace Education in particular should lead students and teachers to action on the issues. Action can be on many different levels. One action that a number of schools and cities and even some states have taken is called "Mundialization." This is the process by which a school, for instance, declares itself a world school, flies the UN flag along with the US flag, pairs with a counterpart school in another part of the world, and then lives out its expanded identity. Living out its global identity can mean many things, from celebrating special UN days, special days in the lives of the students in their counterpart school; exchanges of information, resources, and, perhaps even teachers and students; special global awareness programs on a continuing basis in the school. The process of "mundialization" is as important as the decision to "mundialize." It requires considerable education of the student body before a meaningful vote can be taken. Further, it is a symbolic act, and as any symbolic act, its value lies chiefly in the substance underlying the symbol. Thus, living out the new global identity of the school is vital. The process and implementation of the decision to "mundialize" at University City High School in St. Louis, for instance, had a great effect on the student body. The City of San Anselmo, California, has mundialized; so have the States of Minnesota and Illinois. So can your school or community. The World Federalists of Canada have put together a Guide on "mundialization" (write 46 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Canada). The World Federalists USA, with chapters in most urban areas, would also have information on "mundialization" and related issues.

5: Eating Interdependently (see unit on "World Hunger", pp. 132-34)

#### 6. Adopting a Mission or Village

One action that many Church groups have done is quite similar to "mundialization." Many local congregations, assemblies, parishes, synagogues have "adopted" villages or missions in other parts of the world, especially in the Third World. Schools and even individual classes have done the same thing. There are many benefits in such arrangements besides an exchange of information, pictures, and money. Such exchanges should lead to a deeper appreciation for the struggles of others, to a deeper realization of our common humanity, and thus to mutual support and a renewed determination to keep struggling to do one's own part in building the glob-

al community; however small that part might seem. Many local chapters of the American Red Cross provide the names of specific schools and individuals to contact in other countries. See pp. 111 for related suggestions on "writing interdependently."

7. Using Money Interdependently (see Part IV, pp. 342-43)

#### 8. Celebrating Interdependently

Part IV, pp. 341 ; discusses the whole notion of alternative celebrations. One aspect of such celebrations that is especially relevant here is where we buy (when we decide to buy, rather than make) our gifts. Such things as "Third World Outlets" (distribution centers for goods made in and by Third World peoples who are the beneficiaries of our purchases) can make our gift-giving more interdependent and introduce our friends and relatives to their brothers and sisters in different parts of the world. The Alternative Celebrations Catalogue (see p. 341) is the best source for dozens of such outlets, like Bolivian Handcrafts in Orinda, California.

#### 9. Interdependence in the Classroom

The challenge of living as interdependent beings is not so much to find Third World peoples to care about, but to become caring people in general. If we can live the cooperation implied in the term "interdependence" in our classrooms, homes, and neighborhoods and cities, then we will be able to live interdependently vis-a-vis the rest of the global community. See Part III on "Mutual Education" for specific suggestion for living interdependently in the classroom.

#### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. The Center for War/Peace Studies has recently published a series of guides to selected curriculum materials, including one entitled Interdependence and another on Media on conflict, change and interdependence. The guides provide full descriptions plus teachers' evaluations based on classroom use of the materials. The sad thing is that only junior and senior high materials are listed. The fine things are that the descriptions are concise and useful and that the cost is \$2 per guide (plus postage) if you order more than one set.

2. Two recent Intercom issues, "Teaching Interdependence: Exploring Global Challenges Through Data" and "Teaching Toward Global Perspectives II", (\$1.75 each) are again fine publications. Both of them are collections of classroom exercises rather than development of single themes for extended classroom units as some issues have been. The exercises are there, ready for the teacher's hands, and polished so as to be ready for classroom use. The first, issue 78: a case study of the world in Columbus, Ohio, and Columbus in the world; a simulation on control of the seas; and a great deal of usable data on transportation development, food, energy, and world military interdependence. Issue 79 looks at conflict, systems, computers, and urban growth.

Both issues can be used in grades 7-12.

3. See "Resources" listed in GLOBAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT, MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING, WORLD HUNGER, and GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6

4. See the items listed under and included in "The Global City Kit" (p.148)

5. "The U.S., Interdependence, and World Order," by Lincoln & Irisangi Bloomfield, is the December 1975, issue #228, of the Foreign Policy Association's Headline Series.

It analyzes the world's economic interdependence, both among industrialized nations and between rich and poor nations, and the need and possibilities of creating a more interdependent world in the future.

6 The Shakertown Pledge Group, who gave us permission to use the "Pledge", has produced a newsletter and other activities. Write to: Shakertown Pledge Group/Simple Living Network, West 44th St. at York Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN 55410

## MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING

## I. GOALS

- A. To help students understand that different cultures represent learned variations of behavior through which a society or people meets its basic human needs, which needs are the same across all cultures.
- B. To encourage and actively promote a deep respect for racial and cultural differences and an ability to rejoice in and learn from rather than merely tolerate those differences. It is important to note that when we are talking about "cultural differences," we are talking primarily about cultures different from white western cultures. This is not to say that all children should not have opportunities to see the beauty and the richness in the white western cultures. Emphatically we say they must have those opportunities. But we feel that by and large those opportunities already exist in educational programs. While we feel that some white western cultures (e.g. Eastern European nations) have not been on the whole handled in an adequate fashion in our schools, we still feel that the prevailing attitude is that the white western world is the center of all that is industrious, cultural and important. In other words, our school curricula and our entire school atmospheres have said that "white and western" is good, is important. Unfortunately, what we feel has also been said, explicitly or implicitly, is that "white and western" is better.
- C. To help students become more aware of how racial and cultural differences have been and are being handled in our society, and the possibilities for change. (cf. RACISM section for expansion of this goal)
- D. To make us more aware of the world as one human family, with people having needs in common, struggling together, and eventually living more fully as interdependent beings. (cf. GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6; and GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, 7-12 for expansion of this goal)
- E. To help all of us see what is demanded of us in our own personal life-styles, to help us live more in tune with the culturally pluralistic society in which we live.

## II. CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

## A. Psychological and Social Well-Being of Children

1. Multi-cultural education should help each child feel happy about herself, her culture, her heritage, her background because of what her culture is in itself. If that child is a member of a racial minority in this country, her education must not in any way, directly, or indirectly, make her feel inferior. (NOTE: In this section we will use the term "Third World" to apply to "...those people of ethnic or national origins historically

oppressed by nations of the first and second worlds... Third World people, a minority in the United States, but a majority of the world's population, are of African, Asian, Latin and Native American descent."--definition from Foundation for Change and Interracial Books for Children--) On the contrary, the educational program would be filled with positive reinforcements about the heritage and culture of all different Third World groups.

2. For the white child a multi-cultural educational program is essential to prepare her to live happily and function effectively in her immediate society and in a world that is racially and culturally diverse. A white child who lives in a "white-centric" world comes naturally to accept white as a norm or standard and to see other skin colors as deviations from the norm, and therefore deviation from "peoplehood." That white child can hardly help but feel that white-skinned people are superior to people of color. We feel that this situation is a grave injustice to the white child, giving him or her a false sense of self.

In a short pamphlet called "The Rightness of 'Whiteness'" (cited in bibliography) Abraham Citron makes the points noted above and also comments on the impact of a "white-only" world for the white child in terms of social relationships.

It is thus impossible for the ghettoized white to deal naturally with the universe of human social relationships. He learns in his white world the importance of reacting in certain ways to skin color... It was one of the conclusions of the group of social scientists who signed the Appendix to Appellants' Briefs in Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954, that for both majority and minority groups segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality. (p. 14)

Citron also quotes Nancy Larric, former president of the International Reading Association and authority on children's books who says:

"Although his white skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is Kingfish. There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of a world of conflict..." (quoted on p. 8).

We are spending this much time talking about the importance of multi-cultural education for white children because it is generally white parents and schools that have exclusively or largely white student bodies that need to be convinced that multi-cultural education is important for them.

3. Suggested activities that might help white students, parents, educators be more conscious of their need for a multi-cultural education and life-experience:

a. role-play a situation in which the white person needs or wants to understand another person's culture; e.g., a white child is invited to a party with children of another culture and that child would like to understand the games, the terms used, etc.

b. construct a case study of a situation where a white person realizes how ghettoized he or she is in terms of knowing about other cultures--maybe the person is working with Blacks and would like to get to know his co-workers better.

#### B. Attitudes about the Poor of the World

1. A multi-cultural educational program and/or life-style is a way of concretizing for students and all of us the concept that the poor are more than poor; that their poverty in material terms does not at all imply a poverty in terms of human resources. (cf. Global Development and Poverty and both Global Interdependence sections for development of this concept).

A multi-cultural education program should be presenting the richness of the cultures and the contributions and value to the human family of the "poor" of the world. Our educational systems need to provide opportunities for all members of the human family to share their values, insights, and talents.

2. The Maryknoll film FACES OF MY BROTHER visualizes very graphically the needs of many Third World peoples. It succeeds in putting faces to statistics and in broadening an awareness of the human family. What it fails to do is picture the richness of Third World cultures. It is a film that could be used effectively with junior and senior high levels as well as adult groups, perhaps best with another film that does bring out the wealth of human resources in Third World nations. Such a balance would be provided by a film like Of People and a Vision (Maryknoll), which explains very clearly President Julius Nyerere's development program for Tanzania, and the value system upon which it is built.

3. Inter-Culture Associates, Box 277, Thompson, Conn. 06277 has many different kinds of educational materials available on multi-cultural education. Particularly the materials they have on India, Africa, and Mexico would be of great help in helping students of all levels learn about the richness of these various cultures.

4. Students might be interested in doing some research on Ganienkeh, an experiment in reclaiming Native American territory in New York State and setting up a life-style in traditional Indian ways. Senior-high students would be able to understand a two-part article in The Catholic Worker (Sept., 1975 and Dec., 1975) which brings out the depth of resources in traditional Indian life.

#### C. Foreign Policy (See also pp. 101-08)

1. Multi-cultural education has broad implications for U.S. citizens in terms

of war and other foreign policy issues. A true multi-cultural philosophy should counteract concepts of cultural superiority (ethnocentrism) among the general American population, who would then refuse to elect political leaders or sanction public policies that carried out a concept of cultural superiority. Ways of carrying this concept out often follow a path of subtle progression. If we are superior, then they are inferior. "If they are inferior, then one of two attitudes often follows. First, they need our help because they can't help themselves, through no fault of their own, of course. Thus, it becomes our "manifest destiny" or our "white man's burden" to provide our answers to their problems. Or, secondly, a much more overtly destructive attitude develops. One of its crassest expressions came from the Vietnam War: "Those Orientals have little regard for human life." The actions that followed from that attitude were incredibly destructive.

2. High-school students should see and discuss at length the film Hearts and Minds (Academy Award winning documentary on Vietnam). Perhaps they could zero in on the attitudes of the U.S. men fighting and commanding in Vietnam towards the people of Vietnam and ask questions about how those attitudes were formed. How could counter-attitudes have been formed?

#### 3. "World Heroes"

This is an exercise that can be used at many different points in a multi-cultural educational program. A principal value that we see in the exercise is in raising our own (and our students') awareness of our own educational process (formal and informal). You ask students to list 20 people they feel have made a significant positive contribution to humankind. After their list is complete, check with them about how many are non-Americans? non-Western? non-white? how many Asians? Africans? Women? If, as in most groups, the lists are generally white males, what does that say about our educational process? A way of following this exercise up is to take the lists of World Heroes and have students comment on the people in the lists as if they were members of a Third World group. (For example, as a Puerto Rican, how would you react to Teddy Roosevelt on a World Heroes list, etc.) Another followup is to set up a World Heroes bulletin board with student committees responsible for selecting individuals to put on the board and telling the rest of the class about their selections. This idea can be implemented by teachers and students in all disciplines, recognizing the contributions of peoples of all races and nationalities to their respective disciplines.

#### D. Bicentennial

Multi-cultural education also has broad implications with regard to the celebration of the Bicentennial. A truly pluralistic celebration of the Bicentennial is a challenge, but is essential in terms of honesty and justice. Just a look at how Third World groups in general feel about the celebration of the Bicentennial is a start.



One good source for written material for this is the August, 1975 issue of Ebony Magazine, in which there is a full discussion of whether or not Blacks should celebrate the Bicentennial.

Foundation for Change's lesson plans on the Bicentennial, which include perspectives of Native Americans, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women is an excellent resource.

#### E. Additional Specific Activities

1. Two final principles should be stated as general guidelines in any kind of activity undertaken in the realm of multi-cultural education or life-style:

a. Avoid concentrating on the exotic and unusual. (For example, in a study Africa, do not concentrate on a particular tribe's practice of scarification.)

b. Whenever possible, get Third World perspectives from people of those Third World cultures. In other words, have a Native American person talk to the students about the Indian view of the Bicentennial, etc.

2. The study of families and family life is a good starting point for people of all ages. One resource is Five Families, a series of five filmstrips and records (Scholastic, 916 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632) on family life in five different cultures within the United States (for primary level).

3. Whenever possible use primary sources -- art, music, musical instruments, articles of dress, eating utensils, toys, literature, etc., for the culture you are talking about. (cf. Global Interdependence, K-6, on music, pp. 166-67)

4. Develop contacts with people from other cultures (especially Third World cultures) for your own personal enrichment as well as the expanding of your students' horizons. Check foreign students' Associations at Universities, United Nations offices, Black Studies Institutes, etc.

5. Work at developing real sensitivities to language differences. This, of course, implies the necessity of hiring bilingual staff and/or bilingual consultants.

6. Parents should be aware of the overall atmosphere in their homes -- pictures, reading materials, dolls and other toys, music -- do these things give the children a sense that all cultures are important?

7. The following is an example of an exercise geared at helping us detect examples of judging others by our own cultural standards:

a. Pass out a copy of the following sheet to each participant:

Culture: Causes

The lenses through which any nation looks at life are not the ones that other nations use. -- Ruth Benedict.

1. Some boys are playing together. One boy says that they should have a race. Another boy, who is smaller than the rest, states that he does not want to run in the race. He starts to walk slowly away from the others, but he is stopped by the boy who suggested the race. What will happen next?

2. A handsome young man works in a place where he sees a beautiful young lady almost every day. He is strong, healthy and intelligent. He does not have a wife. He would like to marry and have a family. The young lady is graceful, well-mannered and charming. She too is unmarried. What will happen next?

3. The focal point of the shrine is a box which is built into the wall. In this box are kept the many charms and magical potions without which no native believes he could live. The charm is not disposed of after it has served its purposes, but is placed in the charm-box of the household shrine. The magical packets are so numerous that people forget what their purposes were and fear to use them again. While the natives are very vague on this point, we can only assume that the idea in retaining all the old magical materials is that their presence in the charm-box will in some way protect the worshipper.

a. Do you approve or disapprove of the natives?

b. Do their practices make sense to you?

c. Have you heard of any other group which follows similar practices?

4. Make sense out of each of the following practices, customs, or beliefs by placing it in its cultural milieu:

a. A man's purchase of a new car every year, even though his last car still runs perfectly.

b. An Aztec (Mayan or Tuzcan) ceremony involving human sacrifice.

c. The Egyptian practice of burying food, weapons, and jewels with the dead warrior.

d. African tribal custom of scarification.

e. A woman's sleeping on painful hair curlers all night long.

b. Ask the participants to read the first excerpt.

c. After all participants have read the excerpt, ask them the question: What will happen next? Allow for an open-ended discussion.

An alternate pattern would be to role play the first excerpt. The developer would tell the two role players that they are Navajo Indians who frown upon competition. The rest of the class would not be aware of this fact.

(1) The role play would proceed to the point where the boy is stopped by the other who suggested the race.

(2) The rest of the class would then discuss what would happen next and after discussing the options the players would then resume the role play according to the Navajo custom.

(3) After the role play the class would be allowed to ask the role players why they resolved the difficulty the way they did.

d. When all points of view have been presented, tell the participants that the boys involved are members of a Navajo culture which frowns upon competition. Ask the participants how this will affect what will happen next.

e. Then ask the participants to read the second excerpt, and again have them answer the question: What will happen next? Allow discussion time.

f. After discussion, tell the participants that the man and woman mentioned were members of two different castes in 19th century India. Then ask again: What will happen next? Discuss the implications of caste in social relationships.

g. Have the participants read the third excerpt and briefly answer the questions on the sheet.

h. Allow open discussion of the possible opinions on the questions. Then mention that the excerpt might be an anthropological study of the medicine chest in present-day American culture. Allow discussion on that point of view.

i. Then ask the participants to examine the five examples given in the fourth excerpt. The actions in the examples might seem peculiar to people of a different culture. Ask them to make sense out of each of these practices, customs, or beliefs, by placing them in the cultural milieu which developed them.

#### Additional Resources

1. Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023

This group which works in conjunction with Foundation for Change does excellent work on evaluating books and setting out guidelines for evaluation of books on their relationship to all Third World peoples and to women. Several editions of their Bulletin are of special note in terms of multicultural education: Spring, 1972--special issue on Puerto Rican materials; Vol. 6, #56, 1975--special insert entitled, "Toward a Multicultural Collection" (good ideas for how to start a multicultural collection of books in a school or in a library or in a home); Vol. 5, #78, 1975--Special issue on Chicano materials.

See Racism resources (pp. 65ff.) for more on this group.

2. Justice Education for Young Christians:

a Resource Manual for Teachers of Young Children by Sr. Judith Morkle, (Justice Education Materials, 701 East Columbia Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45215; \$2.75) is a 68 page manual relating key peace and justice issues (racism, world community, multicultural education, reconciliation, living justice and peace) to the religion program and in particular to the sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist and Penance, and to the celebration of Advent/Christmas and Lent/Easter. Excellent for K-6 religion classes. A good example of a multicultural approach.

3. American Indian Authors for Young Readers, Mary Gloyne Byler, Association on American Indian Affairs: 432 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016, 1973. The author, a Cherokee Indian, offers criteria to help readers in evaluating books about Indians. She also gives an extensive annotated bibliography of books about Indians by Indian authors, and critiques quite severely other books about Indians. This book is especially helpful for non-Indians who are trying to decide what kinds of books about Indians are good.

4. Starting Out Right: Choosing Books About Black People for Young Children, ed. by Bettye I. Latimer, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Bulletin No. 2314, 1972. This book offers extensive criteria for judging books involving Blacks, and reviews many books for pre-school through third-grade level. An excellent resource for anyone, parent or educator or librarian involved in the selection of books.

5. Weewish Tree, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94117--a periodical put out by Indians, specifically geared to young children.

6. Ebony, Jr. (820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605)--entertaining periodical for middle-grade children, with fiction, history, poetry, art, puzzles, etc. Good for a Black perspective for children. See enclosed article on "The Seven Lessons of Kwanza" (an African gift-giving festival)--a good example of how celebrations in the classroom or in the home could be multiculturalized.

7. Native American Periodicals (recommended to us by the American Indian Cultural Center in St. Louis):

--Wassaja (American Indian Historical Society, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, CA 94117) (\$10/year)

--Talking Leaf (Indian Center, Inc., 1127 W. Washington, Los Angeles, CA 90015) (\$5/year)

--Awkwesasne Notes (Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, New York 13683)--also contains extensive listing of all kinds of Indian resources.

8. The "Rightness" of "Whiteness": The World of the White Child in a Segregated Society, Abraham F. Citron, Office of Urban Education, College of Education, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202, 1971--a brief sociological study of how the white child is affected by segregation. Also includes practical suggestions for action.

9. Race Awareness in Young Children.

Mary Ellen Goodman, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1952--this book has been around for a while, but the points are still well-taken.

10. Cultural Initiative Series: Africa for middle grades is the first in a series of cultural learning materials created by Susan Carpenter and Pat Burke Guild, available from InterCultural Associates, Box 277, Thompson, Conn., 06277. AFRICA includes a five-foot square map, 7 pictures of excellent quality of Africans going about their daily lives, a box of 24 activity cards, for the pictures and 32 activity cards for the map. Here is a combination of facts and concepts with opportunity for skill learning and for creating a small learning environment in which students can develop their own initiative and gain insight into other cultures. The teacher's guide is readable and helpful. \$25.00

11. Children of the Dragon, a Story of the People of Viet Nam, published by Peoples Press, 2680 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110 (\$1.75), is a simple account of the daily life of North Vietnamese children during wartime, and is geared to 4th-6th graders. It is not a political polemic but the simple story of children who are real human beings. It has maps, glossary, a short history of Vietnam, a children's song, and colorful illustrations.

12. Children of Vietnam, a Storybook for Children (.75) and Banh Chung Banh Day, The New Year's Rice Cakes, A Vietnamese Folk Tale for Children to Color (.50) are translated and distributed by the Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036. Both contain illustrations that are Oriental-style line drawings for coloring.

The first is a collection of writings of 7-10 year olds for that same age group. The rice cakes story has more appeal for slightly younger children, perhaps 5-8 year olds.

13. The Rights of Children (\$5.00) is a 40-slide presentation by UNICEF, 331 East 38th Street, NYC, NY 10016; there are two script versions, for adults and for middle grade children. 15 minutes, features children from around the world.

#### FILMS:

Campamento (Maryknoll)--moving film about the empowerment of a community of poor people in Chile; has a lot to say about the depth of human resources among a group of very poor people. See p III.

Black History Lost, Stolen, or Strayed-- (available from public library)--Talks about the absence of Black History in our educational system; also chronicles the image of Blacks presented in films, and explains some of the ways Blacks have tried to remedy the situation. (Avanti Films)

Brotherhood of Man (Brandon)--animated version of examination of racial and cultural stereotyped attitudes--for all age groups.

All the World's Children--for middle grades or junior high. A good example of the identification between children in different cultures; spotlights the lives of children in Kenya, Paraguay, and Sri Lanka.

See RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY in GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6, pp. 167-71.



## INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING: THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## GOALS and RELEVANCE

A lack of understanding, along with misunderstandings and/or misperceptions of people of another culture definitely are barriers to peace. The purpose of this section is to break down some misunderstandings, misconceptions, stereotypes and myths about the Peoples Republic of China.

We felt that there are several factors about China which make it extremely important in the context of attempts at understanding and breaking down stereotypes:

a. China is a Communist country, so we are aiming at breaking down some barriers to an understanding of how Communism works.

b. Our attitudes about the Chinese reflect to some extent our racial stereotypes of Chinese. (The concepts of international racism and ethnocentrism are handled in "Multicultural Education and Living")

c. China is part of the Third World, so we need to examine our attitude toward it in this respect. cf "GLOBAL POVERTY & DEVELOPMENT"

Our attempts here are aimed at trying to point out some of the basic concepts operative in China today and thus perhaps dispel some myths. Also, to suggest some criteria by which to judge some of these concepts.

## CONTENT and METHODOLOGY

1. It seems essential here to try to determine what kinds of attitudes people have toward China and the Chinese. Perhaps a way to do this would be to brainstorm on

- a. what they definitely know about China today; and
- b. what they would like to know about China.

Another technique: Write a short paper on--"If you had an opportunity to visit China, would you like to go? Why or why not?"

2. When studying China it seems important for students to come to grips with the fact that life in China is very much work-oriented. On the whole, American teenagers will probably have a hard time identifying with that kind of life, because of the pleasure saturation in this country. Perhaps it could be suggested that the students reflect on how much of their time and money is spent on "enjoying themselves" and whether or not people can be happy without that much "pleasure" in their lives. You might have them compare their teenage situation with their parents, most of whom probably were kids during the Depression of the 1930s.

3. Before studying life in China today, it is necessary to consider what life was like in China before the Revolution. AEP Publications "Communist China" contains a good introduction to this in its story called "Land and Class in Long Bow." Another very brief description of life prior to the Revolution is found in the beginning of an article by Mark Selden, cited in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

4. The next step seems to be an examination of the ideas and principles espoused by Mao Tse-Tung and the cornerstone of the Revolution. AEP's "Communist China" has a good digest of some of these principles with some interesting questions and applications afterwards. Also, a tape by Mark Selden, at our Institute, on the same topic.

5. AEP's "Communist China" has a description of the Revolution taking place with some interesting comparative wealth distribution charts afterwards. Based on this and some other readings, especially Mark Selden's article, and parts of China: Inside the People's Republic, it would be important for students to begin to evaluate the Chinese Revolution in terms of general criteria used to evaluate a social revolution:

- a. Violence limitation (how much did the Revolution cost?)
- b. Did it result in a more equitable economic distribution?
- c. How much participation in the decisions that affect one's life is there in China?
- d. What about the general area of social justice and the protection of human rights?
- e. Has there been a wise use of human and natural resources?

The more knowledge the students have, obviously the better job they could do on these criteria (which, by the way, are similar to those identified by the Institute for World Order--see Part I, unit on "Peace Is Possible"), but it seems important for them to begin thinking critically at the beginning. Such evaluation thinking may lead to the realization that different systems suit different situations better.

6. The critical, thought-provoking approach described above might be one helpful tool in overcoming the outright anti-communist barrier to understanding. Also, the examination of Mao's principles should help in this regard. The Chinese, incidentally, do not consider themselves Communists but rather Socialists.

It seems that one of the crucial issues in talking about China as a Communist nation is that of individual freedom. Freedom for the Chinese is defined in terms of control over their own lives and service. In the Commune there is a constant two-fold flow of this control creating somewhat of a tension--the Govern-



ment's control filtering down and the Commune's control of itself. This is reflected in the smaller units within the Commune (brigade and team) where there is this flow from top down and then at the lower level.

When discussing the commune, Mark Selden's article is excellent. Another good resource for this is to have someone come in to talk with the students who has been to China. The visuals are obviously very important in dealing with a culture different from ours.

Another resource falling into the range of audio-visual aids and available in St. Louis at our Institute is a series of tapes on "Revolution and Transformation in China"--from a 1972 conference, especially tapes on "Basic Principles of the Chinese Revolution and "Mao and Chinese Tradition."

7. Some other key concepts that students need to consider:

- a. concept of self-reliance and self-sufficiency.
- b. necessity of labor-intensive technology.
- c. concept of "serving the people"
- d. as a corollary to "c."; the emphasis on meeting health needs and most other basic needs, rather than mass production geared to profit. The whole issue of health care, as compared to the U.S. (in China, \$1.50 per year guarantees you comprehensive health care), might be interesting for discussion. Also, the barefoot doctors would probably be an idea students would find interesting and might be able to identify with.

8. An interesting project for upper level students might be a comparison of Gandhi and Mao, two men working to achieve a social revolution in two giant Asian nations with many of the same problems. Our Institute has an excellent article written by Rafi Kahn, an Indian and Gandhian who is quite a student of Mao. This study might help students to cross some of the cultural barriers because they would be considering two non-Western cultures. It should also be a good tool for a discussion of the use of violence in a social revolution.

9. It might be helpful to discuss some of the social problems in China, such as education, alienation in the factory, and opium, among others. The opium issue, for example, provides opportunities for comparisons to the US on an issue the students would be interested in.

10. Some students might be interested in comparing women in China and the US. Two sources: China: Inside the People's Republic (pp. 246-92) and Helen Snow Women in Modern China.

11. Others might be interested in applying the criteria for a social revolution to Cuba and to Julius Nyerere's efforts in Tanzania (where this Catholic leader is trying to combine the Chinese social revolution with Christian principles). See BIBLIOGRAPHY.

12. Hold a mock meeting of people in a commune "team", where, among other things, "work points" are given by the whole group to each members' work (See Selden article). Have the students evaluate their own performance in the class (grades) or have them make something like cookies in the class and decide at the end how the number of cookies should be divided among the group on the basis of need and work contributed--in China, about 70% is distributed on the basis of need and 30% on output).

RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY (other than already mentioned)

Mark Selden, "Report from a People's Commune," Liberation, Jan. 1973.

Jack Gray, "The Economics of Maoism," Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, February 1969.

China Pac. An up-to-date, flexible teaching unit on China with nearly 200 pages of documentation, maps, resources, learning activities. Student edition and a Teaching Guide, \$5.00.

Readings from the China Pac. An introductory sampling of readings on various topics treated in the China Pac: education, agricultural communes, democracy, imperialism, feudalism, religion. Both available from Maryknoll, 110 Charles St., Hingham, Mass. 02043.

"Red-Flag Canal"--a film dramatization of the story of the people building this great canal, on Maoist principles. Contact Steve Graham (St. Louis, 361-5200).

A group at Washington University is working on developing materials on China for high school students and want to work with teachers. Contact Mr. George Hatch at Washington University.

Julius Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," Cross Currents, Fall 1968--excellent introduction to his thinking.

Council on Interracial Books for Children, Vol. 5, #1 & 2, 1974--review of books about China for children

Perception/Misperception: China/USA

Available from Dept. SE-12, Schloft Productions, 150 White Plains Road, Tarrytown, New York, 10591. This is a multimedia, inquiry-oriented package on the barriers to intercultural understanding. It focuses on questions like, "How do we see others? How do they see us? How do our mutual images affect our relations?" The package includes 5 filmstrips, 30 booklets of readings for students, a teacher's guides and other suggestions for activities. (For grades 9-12.) Price: \$175.

The Midwest China Study Resource Center, Luther Theological Seminary, 2375 Como Ave., West, St. Paul, MN 55108. This center, set up in August, 1975, is an attempt to provide a full range of contemporary source materials on China. Their work includes workshops and curriculum projects on China for high school teachers; as well as curriculum units aimed at adult education groups.

## BLACK STUDIES

### Goals & Relevance

A. Black Studies in the ideal society would not need to be considered separately. It would weave thru all the areas in our school curriculum because it is part of American culture, American history, American politics. Black studies is definitely part of the broader picture of multicultural education. But since the injustices in our society have been directed very heavily at the Black population, and since Blacks make up the biggest group numerically of our minority peoples, we have decided to offer some specific suggestions in the area of Black studies. We feel there is still a tremendous void in our educational system in terms of an appreciation of the Afro-American culture. Our suggestions are broad, are often merely starting points, and hopefully will suggest to you many other ideas.

B. We offer an overall caution in this area, especially for white educators. The necessity of examining one's own attitudes and the practices of the schools in which we work is crucial. Without real understanding of why these suggestions are made, we can easily fall into a bandaid approach, in which, for example, a school might put in a new social studies textbook but wouldn't have a clear concept of what was really objectionable in racial terms about the old text. (cf. RACISM for a development of this.)

The goals of a Black Studies unit would be to promote in very concrete ways a deep respect for and appreciation of the heritage and culture of Black people, and the reality of oppression in their lives.

For Black students, a Black Studies program would aid in a growth of a feeling of self-worth and a pride in one's own background and culture.

For white students, a Black Studies program would aid in an expansion of their cultural horizons as well as a more accurate perception of themselves and themselves in relation to Black people. (cf. "Multicultural Education & Living" for more details on this point.)

CONTENT and METHODOLOGY (Notation about age levels after each suggestion).

1. Awareness needs to begin early. Help your primary children of any race come to understand themselves better. We want to develop new images of colors. Our culture has thought of blackness as fear-producing like the night; evil like a little black book, or like devil's food cake; angry or sullen like "black moods". Consider on the other hand, a "white lie" -- not so deceitful; white = clean, etc. The difficulty of setting aside these deep-seated cultural identifications encourages us to develop counter-images which can help children realize the beauty of their bodies, of themselves, of their shared heritage. What color are they really? Black or white? Perhaps an in-between, unique hue. Children in one family have different colored

skin. Invite one of your students to bring brothers and sisters to class to illustrate this point. Children in the Human Family have many different colors of skin. What color are you?

Some people are black like ebony wood  
Some people are light brown like roast turkey  
Some people are pink like bubble gum  
Some people are brown like chocolate cake  
Some people are dark brown like strong coffee  
Some people are white like vanilla ice cream  
Some people are yellow like a ripe pear  
Some people are red like cinnamon rolls  
Some people are tan like peanut butter

If we were all ice cream, what kind would you be? (Primary and Middle grades)

2. Count and describe different hair styles, and different kinds of hair. All are beautiful. Think of something in your life that is like your mother's hair or your father's or your own. It might be like cotton, like grass, like a broom. Think of your own examples. (Primary and Middle Grades)

3. Develop a collection of dolls, for display, to represent the people of the US--include male dolls, old and young; include correct proportions of all racial minorities. (Primary)

4. Many materials have been available traditionally picturing the ideal middle class white American family. If the children you teach find it difficult to identify with that image, you may wish to invite them to draw their own families for display, not simply as art, but as an exhibit of the family for them--the source of love and warmth in their lives. (Primary & Middle Grades)

5. Another idea for using the children's own culture to help them learn: one teacher we know has found that her children love to beat out complicated rhythms for fun. In learning multiplication tables, then, the children take turns setting the beat for the class recitation of the numbers. They all beat out their own creative pattern as they memorize. The important dimension of this is not, of course, "a natural sense of rhythm" with any group, but rather that teachers may watch for and take advantage of natural cultural expression from the children. This can make the classroom a much more fitting learning environment. (Primary and Middle Grades)

6. Learn some words in Swahili, the ancestral language of many blacks in the US:

mother	mama
daddy	baba
Grandfather	Babu
Grandmother	myanya
brother	kaka
sister	dada
I love you	nina-mu-penda

(Primary, Middle grades, Junior High, Senior High)

7. Invite a black athlete to visit your students. You might ask him or her about the experiences of racism and prejudice in professional sports. The same questions could be asked of a doctor, lawyer, police officer, social worker, etc. with regard to their professions. (Middle grades, Junior & Senior High)

8. In the same way that silhouettes & pictures of famous people fill classrooms and school halls (and those people have traditionally been white men), our new pictorial representations should represent people from all races who have made important contributions to history, both men and women. Children are very much affected by visual images. (All ages.)

9. Look at modern black art and poetry. Can you catch a mood in it? Compare your own feelings about being white/black/red/yellow to the mood in the art you see. If the children are unfamiliar with black art, they may not appreciate its value spontaneously. For this reason, it's important that this project be prepared carefully to introduce students to the artistic value of other cultures. (Middle grades, Junior & Senior High)

10. Study black songs. Pick a slave song of captivity (e.g., "Follow the Drinkin' Gourd"); then a song of emancipation (e.g. "Free At Last"); then a modern song of black pop culture (ask your children, if they are black--maybe "Shaft"); then a song of early modern black protest ("We Shall Overcome" or "If You Miss Me At the Back of the Bus"); then a song of militancy ("Power to the People"). Talk about how these songs tell black American history. (Middle Grades, Junior & Senior High)

11. Read about black protest. Does protest always lead to rebellion? What are black people trying to say? What has brought about the waves of recent protest? The movie Black American Dream about the meaning of Black power would be a good starting point for this discussion.

Older children can research the question of non-violence in the context of black power. Let children take a stand on this question. Encourage them to know that people of non-violence (e.g. Martin Luther King) began their careers advocating violence. Which has proved to be effective? Which is correct? (Senior High)

12. No matter what the racial composition of your school, if the new "black cinema" visits your neighborhood theaters, your students probably see what critics call "black movies". If possible, see them yourself. Discuss how the image of the black male in movies has changed (the deferential Rochester with Jack Benny; honest Sidney Poitier in Lilies of the Field; hustler Superfly; none of these is a very realistic picture of who a man is). Perhaps the class can see a film together. (Senior High)

13. Discuss various names for Black people; which names do Black people like and which do they dislike? (Black, Negro, colored, Afro-American, etc.) Why is this so? Do different people prefer different names? (Junior and Senior High)

14. Talk about the differences in the style of dress between black and white people in a big city. Why might these be different? Children can collect pictures of different modes of dress, and can make a bulletin board. (All ages.)

15. Slavery (Middle-grade, Junior and Senior High)

a. Remind the children that the black people never willingly submitted to slavery; there were 200 slave revolts. Discuss the annihilation of family, and culture ties.

b. Crispus Attucks, a black runaway slave, died in the Boston Massacre, one of the first people to give his life that his new country might gain independence. Have the children study about Crispus Attucks: Why was he demanding something for his country that he himself did not possess?

c. In the middle grades, articles can supply the basis for class projects and discussion. Consult bibliography section for many readable materials. Discussion idea: the Europeans did not succeed in enslaving the American Indians; why were the blacks enslaved?

d. Have the children dramatize a slave auction.

e. Read a slave narrative to the children. Read Metzger's In Their Own Words. Invite the children to write an imaginary slave diary. As a class, discuss various ways of escape from slavery.

16. Build a collection of books that are sensitive portrayals of the Black experience. Good resources for beginning this project are Starting Out Right: Choosing Books about Black People for Young Children, ed. by Bettye I. Latimer, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Bulletin No. 2314, 1972, Madison, Wisc.; and the Bulletin of the Council on Interracial Books for Children, especially Vol. 6, #5 & 6, 1975, insert on "Toward a Multicultural Collection." (Primary and Middle-Grade)

17. Have the children talk about who their heroes are (concentrating here on Black heroes.) One particular focus here might be Black political leaders (mayors, Congresspeople, etc.) Perhaps have them discuss how these heroes relate to the white establishment. Have they challenged the way things are? (Middle-grade, Junior & Senior High)

NOTE: A good Audio-visual resource on this topic for middle-grade and junior-high students is a film strip and cassette set put out by the Center for Teaching about Peace & War, Wayne State U., 754 University Center Bldg., Detroit, Mich. 48202. It is entitled Heroes & Heroines for Our Age-Rosa Parks, and presents her story very simply, yet forcefully.

18. Africa (all ages)

NOTE: Time and space obviously prevent us from doing an adequate job on Africa. We will make several general suggestions, which we hope will lead to other ideas for you.



a. In any study of Africa, remember that Africa has more cultural diversity than the U.S. Teachers and students should take the time to study the different cultures and expose themselves to the various forms of music, art, etc. Also, have speakers come in from several different African nations to give students an idea of the diversity.

b. Discuss this quote with junior and senior-high students: "The only thing dark about the Dark Continent has been the western world's ignorance of its past."

Note resources on Africa in resource list at the end of this unit.

19. For a beginning in awareness-raising, take the Black History test printed at the end of this section.

20. See units on "Racism" and "Multicultural Education and Living."

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES (Also, consult resources after Racism & Multicultural Education & Living)

1. Aloian, David; Poems & Poets; McGraw-Hill Books, 1965; p. 271-272

2. Banfield, Beryle; Africa for the Elementary Grades; Grade Teacher; October, 1968.

3. Brooks, Gwendolyn; Selected Poems; Harper and Row, New York; 1963

4. Dunbar, Paul; The Complete Poems of Paul Lawrence Dunbar; Dodd, Mead, & Co.; 1913; p. 401-406

5. Frazier, Walt; Rockin' Steady

6. Johnson, James; The Book of American Negro Poetry; Harcourt, Brace, World; 1959; p. 130-133

7. Joseph, Stephen, Ed.; The Me Nobody Knows; Avon Books; New York, 1969

8. McGovern, Ann; I Am Somebody; Scholastic Magazine and Book Services, New York,

9. Meltzer, Milton, Ed.; In Their Own Words; Thomas Y. Cromwell, New York, 1964. (3 volumes)

10. Raymond, John; Prejudice and You--A Learning Experience; produced and edited: G.G. Voith, 4012 Club Circle N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30319

11. Salk, E.A.; Layman's Guide to Negro History; Black Studies Program; University City High School, University City, Mo.

12. The Search; Scholastic Book Services; New York, 1971.

13. Smitherman, Geneva; White English in Blackface, Or, Who Do I Be?; reprinted by Foundation for Change.

14. Spiegler, Charles G.; Against the Odds

15. Walker, Margaret; For My People; Yale University Press; 1968; p. 25.

16. Walker, Margaret; Jubilee; Black Stud-

ies Office, University City High School, University City, MO.

17. Feelings, Muriel, Jambo Means Hello. Dial Press, 1976 & Swahili Alphabet & discussion of culture (for young children).

18. New Day Press, c/o Karamu House, 2355 E. 89th St., Cleveland, Ohio (Series I & II)--children's paperbacks on Black History.

#### AUDIO VISUALS

"American Negro Pathfinders", 6 captioned filmstrips, BFA Educational Media, 2221 Michigan, Santa Monica, CA 90404

Black American Dream (1 hour, Time-Life) --explains Black Power movement

"Black History, Lost, Strayed, or Stolen," a film. Can be borrowed from St. Louis Library (Described in unit on Racism, p. 66)

"Black, and White: Uptight", a film. Can be borrowed from St. Louis Library. (Described in unit on Racism p. 66)

Coronet Films, African Folk Tales Series, 65 East South Water, Chicago, Illinois 60601

"Martin Luther King, Jr., Apostle of Non-Violence", lesson plan, filmstrip, and record from University City Black Studies

"Martin Luther King, a Man of Peace", film from Milwaukee Commission of Community Relations

HELPFUL AGENCIES: and Afro-American Studies Departments in many universities, Institute of Black Studies, 6372 Delmar, St. Louis, MO

ALSO: Proud Magazine ran an excellent series on Black studies in 1971 (Jan, Feb, Mar, Oct, Nov and Dec).

Pride, a Handbook of Activities, includes many crafts, and fun recreation. Available from Educational Service Inc., Detroit.

#### Periodicals

Ebony, Jr.--(described in Multicultural Education & Living, p. 156)--excerpt from in same unit, p. 153)

Ebony, Jet, Black Enterprise, Black Scholar, Essence--all give the reader a Black viewpoint. All children need this input.

#### Africa resources

1. Of People & A Vision (film-30 min.) (Maryknoll), a good presentation of Tanzanian values and of President Nyerere's program for development in Tanzania.

2. Series of 3 filmstrips from BFA Educational Media Africa: Focus on

- East Africa
- West Africa
- culture

(Useful for all ages)



3. Filmstrip and record--Black African Heritage. Westinghouse Learning Corp. (All ages)

4. Africa, Tradition & Change--Evelyn Rich & Wallerssein (Random House) (For older students & teachers)

#### AN AMERICAN HISTORY TEST

#### BLACK HISTORICAL FIGURES: LOST, STOLEN OR STRAYED

Match the letter to the person below with the number.

1. Who was the scientist famous for his work with the peanut and sweet potato?

2. Inventor of a lubricating device permitting the oiling of machinery without having to stop. still used by railroads and steamships.

3. Who was the Black man to be first to stand atop the world with Admiral Perry in the Polar Expedition in 1909?

4. What Black revolutionized the shoe manufacturing industry with the invention of the first lasting machine?

5. Name the Black who was a contemporary of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, who authored a famous almanac, constructed the first mechanical clock in America, and was instrumental in planning and surveying of the Capitol at Washington, D.C.?

6. Who completely revolutionized the theory and practice of refining sugar by inventing the multiple-effect evaporator?

7. Who discovered how to preserve blood plasma?

8. What Black Poet was the second woman in the American colonies to have a book published?

9. Who performed the first successful heart operation?

10. A famous explorer of the southwest, trader with the Indians, supervisor of the building of a fort at Pueblo, Arizona, and discoverer of the famous pass named for him.

11. Who invented the stoplight and gas mask?

12. Who was the founder of Tuskegee Institute, whose philosophy encouraged Black people to develop their educational and economic potential?

13. How many Blacks fought alongside Colonists during the Revolutionary War:

400 ; 1,500 ; 3,600 ; 5,000

14. How many Blacks wore the Union uniform during the Civil War?

12,000 ; 78,000 ; 148,000 ; 186,000

a. Norbert Rillieux

b. Garrett Morgan

c. Charles Drew

d. Jan Matzeliger

e. Elijah McCoy

f. Booker T. Washington

g. Phyllis Wheatley

h. Daniel Hale Williams

i. Jim Beckwourth

j. Benjamin Banneker

k. Matthew Hensen

l. George Washington Carver

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ACTION AGAINST APATHY, P.O. BOX 11435,  
Clayton, Mo., 63105

## GOALS

1. To consider the "why" of global interdependence in elementary education
2. To explore the concept of interdependence in the following parts:
  - a. differences
  - b. oneness
  - c. systems
  - d. responsibility
3. To offer a list of available resources for future use.

## RELEVANCE

Global interdependence! What does it mean to an elementary grade child? Probably not much. At the most, a verbal definition. A few years ago educators would have stated it a much too complicated, as well as unnecessary, term to teach to elementary grade students. Slowly we are beginning to realize that the impact of interdependence is affecting lives of all people--children as well as adults. And if the concept of such a complex reality of our lives is to be understood, it is essential to have its beginnings in the very earliest years of a child's education. Research findings seem to indicate that children's awareness and attitude formation begin to be well formed at a very early age--even before entering the elementary grades. Therefore, if we have any hopes of the future world being one of peace we need to implement the skills of interdependence from day one as well as all other days of the child's schooling. Judith Torney states,

"We are now educating children who in ten years will be young adults helping shape our society, who will therefore determine the patterns of law and justice, of social and political institutions, even of war and peace. Education, both formal and informal, has a responsibility--we must stress the whole world, the global society, and deal with our own domestic problems as part of that totality." ("Teaching About Spaceship Earth: A Role-playing Experience for the Middle Grades," INTERCOM, Nov. 71)

The reality of life is forcing us to a greater interdependence. Because of our rapid advancement in life and all the many facets of living, we are forced into needing our fellow human beings. To a great deal, our specialization has caused us to be interdependent beings:

"In this age we have been highly specialized, and as we have specialized we have become interdependent. The frontier people were not specialized and did everything for themselves; not very well, to be sure, but after a fashion. But now we cannot do everything for ourselves. The more unlike us another is, the more we need them. Then it follows that I should value those who are different from me, rather than valuing most those who are like me." (Kelley, Earl C. EDUCATION FOR WHAT IS REAL (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.)

Unfortunately progress in the area of human relationships has not advanced as rapidly as the specialization in many other areas. Traveling to any part of the world can be done easily and quickly, but can we live at peace with our global family with the same ease and comfort? Berman in his book NEW PRIORITIES IN THE CURRICULUM states that we must get at the essence of human living and understanding. Perhaps we need to view this difficult concept as important, not because we teach it, but because we create these environments conducive to its growth.

In closing these few remarks on the "why" of global education in interdependence, I would like to quote Martin Luther King and ask if we really are awake to the reality of our life and the lives of the students we teach. "No individual can live alone, no nation can live alone, and anyone who thinks they can is sleeping through a revolution."

## CONTENT

In considering the meaning of interdependence for elementary grade children we must consider ideas and vocabulary that can be related to their own experiences and understanding. The concepts of difference, oneness, systems, responsibility, seem to be essential parts in the children's understanding of interdependence and also parts that can be related to their age, experience and understanding.

## A. DIFFERENCES:

## 1. Concept:

It seems that the very essence of global awareness and the beauty of interdependence in our global family is that of differences: Differences as they apply in the student's own lives, their families, their school communities, USA communities and in the world community. Often educators do a good job bringing out the importance of differences within their own lives but fail to add that dimension of the broader world community and to really help children realize that differences are essential for completing the whole in a peaceful and just way. As one deals with differences, it is important to explore the area in a positive light. An individual's difference is his gift to building the total global family.

## 2. Activities:

a. To develop the value of differences in each individual's uniqueness--

(1) Begin the school year with an emphasis on self-understanding and building a positive self-concept. Emphasize the worth and dignity of the individual, and respect for every child.

(2) Spend time on names of the children--what names mean, possible origin, naming customs, the use of nicknames.

(3) In a corner, display a full length mirror so that children can see themselves and identify characteristics. Discuss differences emphasizing the reasons for these differences.

(4) Have a talent show in which each child shows his unique talent.

b. to develop the value and worth of differences within their own communities and cultures—

(1) Meet and become acquainted with people in the school, for example, custodians, cooks, administrators, other teachers.

(2) Meet and talk with people who work in the school neighborhood: bus drivers, police officers, fire fighters, public health nurses, mail carriers.

(3) Take walking trips around the school to see the relationship of the classroom to the total plant.

(4) Take trips into the community. Talk about the relationship of the school to the community.

(5) If working with city children, take a trip to the farm. Discuss the differences especially in work, distances, family involvement. If working with children of a rural area plan a visit to the city area for the same specific purpose.

(6) Provide opportunities for many types of communication to take place in the classroom. Provide an atmosphere for communication on a one-to-one basis, for small group interaction, for total group discussion.

(7) Invite parents and grandparents to the classroom. Some may be able to share a talent, hobby, or interest with the children, such as cooking, sewing, making toys, singing, dancing, playing a musical instrument, telling stories, or painting.

(8) Help students learn skills that will enable them to explore various and different solutions to a situation (see MUTUAL EDUCATION, Part III, pp. 240-44)

c. to develop the value and worth of differences in the life of different cultures—

(1) Refer to the Multicultural Education Unit, Section A., Part 1, pp. 153-54.

(2) Invite people from other cultures to visit the classroom. The visitor may be able to share facts about their culture, music

(3) Learn simple words and phrases such as "Good morning" "good-bye," "my name is" in other languages to develop a feeling and a respect for various languages. Relate these activities to the experiences of the children—a new child in the group arriving from Kenya, a child leaving for a visit to Peru, a child's grandmother from Brazil visiting the class.

(4) Read stories about the people everywhere. Read folklore from other countries.

(5) Play records with music from other cultures. Encourage children to move freely

to the music and to notice the difference in movement in relationship to culture.

(6) Learn simple songs in several languages.

(7) Celebrate holidays and other days of importance according to various cultures.

(8) Show slides, filmstrips, films to view people of other cultures. Choose ones that will relate to the ways people live, go to school, work and play. See sections "D" & "E" in BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(9) Use a wide variety of people from other cultures when making displays, exhibits, scrapbooks, etc. See sections "C" & "F" in BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(10) Arrange for global pen pals.

(11) Study a different culture each month. Use art, music, clothes and displays for that month's culture.

(12) To consider the following evaluative criteria when inviting resource people, using musical recordings and other materials.

#### EVALUATIVE CRITERIA—

Guidelines to aid a teacher in making wise choices in the selection of materials and activities for human relations education follow.

Robertson 78 suggests that, when inviting a resource person to the classroom, the teacher should

A. 1. Know something about the resource persons and what they have to offer... Care should be taken to make sure that individual has more than cursory knowledge of the country they are discussing and that they are able to communicate with the children.

2. Brief the visitor about the work of the class and plan with them regarding their presentation... Share with the visitor some of the things the children are doing in the school.

3. Be sure that the children have sufficient understanding of the country so that more realistic learning can take place.

4. Prepare the students for possible differences in appearance or language difficulties.

5. Have globes, maps...available.

B. Pollowski 79 poses questions teachers should ask as they select materials about other cultures to be used in the classroom:

1. In regard to musical recordings or objects—

Are they truly representative of the culture or were they produced merely to satisfy the demands of tourists with pre-conceived notions?

Do they have enough relevance to the culture as a whole so that they are worthy of general study or do they represent only a minute portion of the people?

Can they be easily integrated into the structure of the study or will the children come to regard them as individual items of curiosity?

"2. In regard to fictional and folkloric materials--

Was the material created by a participant in the culture or by an observer of it?

Has it been edited to remove all elements which are morally or socially not accepted in our culture or have some of these intrinsic values of the society concerned been allowed to remain intact?

If it is historical, is this clearly indicated?

"3. In regard to illustrations, photographs, or films--

Is there obvious stereotyping such as always depicting Chinese children with pigtails, African children without clothes, Mexican children as barefoot boys with burros, etc.?

Are the facial characteristics of any race always the same, without regard for the fact that there are infinite varieties within all races?

Is the comparative wealth or poverty of a nation or people illustrated with honesty or is it exaggerated?

Is there overemphasis of rural or village life with no proportionate attention to urban life?

Are the unusually different customs depicted more for their shock value than as illuminations of parts of the total structure of the culture?

"4. In regard to factual materials--

What is the latest copyright date? Does this limit the usability of the work? If copyright date is recent, do geographical and political facts truly reflect the latest changes?

Whose point of view is represented--the insider or the outsider or both?

What kinds of sources are given?

I would pose these additional questions for teachers to ask themselves:

"5. In regard to personal teaching behavior--

Am I a world-minded citizen, concerned that my students become world-minded?

Am I constantly striving to gain more knowledge and increase my skills in human relations education? Am I planning and working cooperatively with parents to achieve the goals of human relations education?

"6. In the classroom--

Do I convey an attitude of approaching human relationships with understanding and compassion, both in my verbal and non-verbal communication?

Is the point of view I present free from bias?

Do I create an atmosphere of warmth and acceptance? Do I provide freedom to create? Do I provide many opportunities for children to make choices and decisions on their level?

Do I encourage children to look at problems from various points of view? Is divergent thinking encouraged?

Do I encourage children to use higher thought processes? Are clarifying procedures, making inferences, hypothesizing encouraged?

--Taken from Bases for World Understanding and Cooperation by Joan M. Moyer, Association for Supervision & Curriculum, 1201 16th St., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20036 and reprinted with permission.

## B. ONENESS

1. Concept - For differences to have meaning, it seems that they must be considered in the context of the total global family. We need to help students see that we are all one family and that this is not just a well-intentioned idea. If each person is to grow in self-worth in the process of building the whole, it seems that basic skills of mutuality are essential in building the concept of oneness. Students must have the ability to deal with differences whether in creating a classroom oneness or a worldwide oneness. Included within would be an understanding of conflict and cooperative non-violent ways of dealing with conflict.

### 2. Activities -

a. To help students examine the fact that they are members of a total world family--

(1) Have globe available in the classroom at all times. Use every opportunity to use the globe to locate countries as related to the week going on in the classroom.

(2) As a quick easy way to introduce the concept of world family teach the Green Circle Song.  
Tune: "Nick, Nack Paddy Whack"  
"This Old Man"

78 Wanda Robertson. "Using People as Resources To Develop International Understanding." In: Children and International Education. Portfolio Number 6. Washington, D.C. Association for Childhood Education International, 1969.  
79 Anne Pellowski. "Learning About Present-Day Children in Other Cultures." In Children and International Education. Portfolio Number 6. Washington, D.C. Assoc. for Childhood Educational International, '69.



## Words:

"Circle Green, Circle Green,  
Finest Circle we have seen,  
The greatest task that we know,  
Is to make the circle grow.

Smallest one circles me,  
Then we add the family,  
Friends will make it larger still;  
Further we must spread good will.

People here, people there,  
All God's children everywhere,  
Are of one big family,  
In the circle they should be.

Circle Green, grow and grow,  
So our neighborhoods will show,  
We can make a world that's good.  
Through LOVE, PEACE and PEOPLEHOOD."

For more complete information about the program, write to

The Green Circle Program  
1515 Cherry Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19102

(3) Allow global thinking to pervade your entire curriculum. Devise projects in various fields which will contribute to developing children's sense of global oneness.

(4) Consult with the World Federalists as a class; consider the possibility of "mondialization", declaring themselves "world citizens" (see pp. 151)

(5) Develop a Global City classroom (see "Global Interdependence, 7-12," pp. 148-49)

(6) For further suggestions refer to Unit on "Global Hunger," section A, part 2b, pp. 127ff; Unit on "Multicultural Education," part #3 - suggested activities, pp. 153-54.

b. to help students learn skills that will allow for peaceful living together in an interdependent way—

(1) In fulfilling this goal, it is important to help students see that conflict is neither good nor bad and is an essential element to creating oneness. So that conflict doesn't turn to violence and avoidance, students must learn those skills needed to analyze conflict and then to be able to explore the possibilities of non-violent conflict resolution.

(2) Role-playing can be used effectively to set up conflict situations in which small children often find themselves. This technique helps children to deal with their conflicts as well as to recognize their feelings during the conflicts. It also helps the children to see how conflict situations arise and will afford an opportunity to show non-violent ways of resolving the conflict.

(3) In order to try to understand the causes of aggression, fairy tales can be used very effectively. First, explain to the children the meaning of a fairy tale. Then read it aloud. Have the children raise their hands whenever they recognize a harmful action in the story. Ask such questions as:

- (a) Why is this a violent action?
- (b) Whom does it harm?
- (c) Why did it occur?
- (d) What is another way the person/animal can act without harming anyone?
- (e) Tell the class if the story scared you. Do you like to be scared?

When finished with the story, have the children make up a new ending that does not involve harmful actions.

(4) For other suggested activities, refer to: UNIT ON CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT, pp. 23ff, and MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 285ff.

## C. SYSTEMS

1. Concept - For oneness to have body, it seems that the concept of systems is essential in studying interdependence. First, to help students research and understand already existing systems--both national and international. Secondly, to help them explore how these systems affect their immediate life and the lives of many others. And thirdly, future dreaming and planning for the earth being a single system and what that would mean in our lifestyles.

## 2. Activities -

a. to help students understand systems and how they affect our lives

(1) Identify the major systems of the human body. Learn how the various systems and organs within depend on each other.

(2) Guide role playing activities and directed activities that help students experience a real example of a global system which touches the students' lives as well as lives of people and businesses in their community each day. Two very fine units for doing this can be found in UNICEF kit, Teaching About Interdependence, Teacher's Kit, #5418, \$1.50. Available from U.S. Committee for UNICEF. The units are:

(a) Global Interdependence and Worldwide Mail and

(b) Global Interdependence and World Health.

See Bibliography for more detail.

(3) In order to further teach some basic ideas of system, develop in three sample lessons —

WHEN I WANT A DRINK OF WATER, I  
HOW MANY SYSTEMS AT A STREET CORNER  
A SIMPLE CHOCOLATE BAR —

as prepared and outlined in INTERCOM #73; TEACHING TOWARD GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES, 218 East 18th Street, New York, New York 10003 See pp. 135-36, for the Hershey Bar Exercise.

(4) Act out the following role-play to help the students gain an understanding of system and subsystem in a concrete experience.--Taken from Teaching About Glo-

bal Perspectives #73 Intercom, Center for War/Peace Studies. See p. 172.

b. to consider the earth as a single system

(1) One way to introduce the earth as a single system is to have the students act out Spaceship Earth (see "Global Interdependence, 7-12," pp. 146-47). This activity uses the imagination of the child to build a sense of "let's pretend" urgency and in the last lines turns the situation into a real world problem with a sense of oneness with all the other passengers.

(2) A more simplified activity is to pretend that they, the students, are a party of shipwrecked passengers on a deserted island. Ask the children to work out the situation. Help them to see the many ways that they must depend upon one another. See WORLD HUNGER, p. 129.

(3) Have students explore how their city is part of the global community, as did the people in Columbus, Ohio. (see "Global Interdependence, 7-12," pp. 149-50)

(4) Discuss the importance of already existing transnational organizations such as the Lions, Rotary, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Red Cross, Church World Service, Catholic Relief and Maryknoll.

#### D. RESPONSIBILITY

I. Concept - A very important challenge all of us have is to assume responsibility for our own actions. Equally important is that responsibility of realizing the results of our actions in relationship to the whole human family. Overwhelming as it may be for even adults - much less to children - one cannot be given the freedom of putting the responsibility aside. As the world becomes more and more a global world, so the increasing responsibility of the interdependent effects of our actions.

#### 2. Activities

a. to realize the effect of our actions and our responsibility for these actions

(1) Have children brainstorm a long list of actions. One by one have them name as many ways as possible that the action affected someone either in a positive or negative way.

(2) Give examples of people not carrying out their responsibilities and what effect they have on others.

(3) If children are to be able to take charge of their lives, they need to be taught skills that will help them to know how to make decisions according to their values, how to evaluate those decisions, and how to generate other options. (See MUTUAL EDUCATION, Part III, pp. 273-94)

b. to realize the results and responsibility of our actions in relationship

to the global family

(1) After children have discussed the World Pledge, help them to brainstorm and determine concrete ways of daily living the pledge. Younger children can color and display their pledges as well as their concrete actions.

"I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE WORLD  
TO CHERISH EVERY LIVING THING,  
TO CARE FOR EARTH AND SEA AND AIR,  
WITH PEACE AND FREEDOM EVERYWHERE!"

(2) Have students read "Living on Less Than \$200 a Year," pp. 117-18. Discussion afterwards should emphasize our over-consumption patterns and concrete ways the students feel that they can fade their global responsibility.

(3) Refer to WORLD HUNGER, Part D, pp. 132-34, for more suggested activities.

OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY (refer also to Global Interdependence, 7-12" bibliography on pp. 151-52)

#### A. Books:

1. Keating, D.M. Building Bridges of Understanding, Tucson, Palo Verde Publishing, 1967. Annotated bibliography of excellent titles in intercultural reading for grades K-9.

2. Margaret Mead, People and Places, World, 1959, Bantam paper. One of the best explanations of why the world's people live where they do.

3. Bertrand P. Boucher, How Man Provides, Home Library Press, 1963. For Grades 3-6, how people in the world make their living.

4. Elizabeth S. Helfman, This Hungry World, Lothrop, 1970. Grades 4-7, discussion about food and its distribution.

5. Joan E. Moyer, Bases for World Understanding and Cooperation, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Excellent suggestions to help initiate an approach to world cooperation and understanding for younger children.

6. Margaret Comstock, Building Blocks for Peace, Jane Addams Peace Association, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. A resource unit for kindergarten teachers. It introduces new concepts of self, of family and of different cultures, through games, things to make and do, role-playing, songs and books and filmstrips. Also an appendix lists sources of books, records, filmstrips. \$2.00.

7. Grace Abrams and Fran Schmidt, Peace is in Our Hands, Jane Addams Peace Association, a resource unit for teachers of grades 1-6. This curriculum is designed to help students understand their feelings, handle their aggression nonviolently, build self-esteem, empathize with others' feelings and understand others' hopes, and build world citizenship. 90 pages. \$5.00 each, 10 or more, \$4.00 each.

Free descriptive brochure for the cost of postage. Make check payable to JAPA.

3. Merkle, Sister Judith, Justice Education for Young Children. A series of planned activities aimed at helping to integrate into the total learning environment of the young student aspects of the values of justice and peace. Write JUSTICE EDUCATION MATERIALS. \$2.75, plus postage.

9. LET'S TRAIN THEM FOR PEACE - reprints of articles from several sources on toys of violence, and suggestions for creative toys. Bibliography. 50¢ Make check payable to WILPF.

10. EDUCATE TODAY FOR PEACE TOMORROW - a bibliography of recent books for children, with themes of peace and world family. Published by Delaware Co. PA WILPF branch. 50¢ make check payable to WOLPF.

B. Children's Books that promote world community and international understanding. See listing of biographies in TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS, pp.

1. BERRIES GOODMAN, by Emily Cheney Neville. Harper & Row. \$3.95. A New York boy learns about prejudice. Ages 10-14.

2. MEETING WITH A STRANGER, by Duane Bradley. Lippincott. \$3.95. An Ethiopian boy's ancient ways meet and clash with those of the modern world. Grades 4-6.

3. NILDA, by Nicholas Mohr. Harper & Row. \$5.95. Warm and honest portrayal of a girl growing up in Puerto Rican Harlem in the 1940s. Ages 10 and up.

C. Music and Books - The following can be gotten at the National UNICEF Office, 331 E. 38th New York, N.Y. 10016 or the St. Louis UNICEF Office, 704 De Mun, St. Louis, 721-1961.

1. ROCKABYE BABY: LULLABIES FROM MANY NATIONS AND PEOPLES. Music with original words and translations for more than 50 lullabies from a many countries. Scored for simple accompaniment on piano, guitar, and other instruments. Illustrated with photographs. Compiled by Carl Miller. Soft cover. For new parents, experienced parents, grandparents, and children of all ages. #5035 \$3.50.

2. SING, CHILDREN, SING. Music with original words and translations for 35 songs, dances, singing games from 34 countries. Scored for a variety of instruments. With photographic illustrations. Introduction by Leonard Bernstein. Soft cover. For all ages. #5027. \$3.50.

3. HAPPY DAYS. How milestones in children's lives are celebrated in different countries. Includes music for birthday celebrations and names for children around the world. Hard cover. 120 pp. Ages 10 and up. #5004 \$3.00.

4. SONGS FOR A PEACEFUL WORLD. This 7-inch record contains performances contributed to UNICEF by the International Children's Choir, the Hillside Singers, the Tucson Boys' Choir, and Tom T. Hall. Songs include "Let There Be

Peace on Earth," "I'd Like to Teach the World to Sing" and "Father of the Man." #5026 \$1.00

5. I'M GOING TO TEACH YOU A NEW WORD TODAY. Sheet music. A lively song created by Benny Berman to teach peace in 14 languages through a catchy melody. #5029 \$1.00

#### D. Slide Sets and Filmstrips

1. RIGHTS OF THE CHILD. Focuses on the Declaration of the Rights of the Child and the efforts of UNICEF to bring about their realization. Teachers guide considers the concept of rights. Cassette tape available with two sound tracks for either adult or child audience. Color. Slide set with guide.

	(40 slides)	#5709 \$4.00
Filmstrip	(40 frames)	#5716 \$4.00
Cassette (only)		#5710 \$2.00

2. FOR CHILDREN AND THE FUTURE. Depicts the children of the developing world and highlights the World Child Emergency declared by UNICEF. Includes teacher's guide and commentary. All ages. Color.

Slide set	(30 slides)	#5701 \$3.00
Film strip	(30 frames)	#5713 \$3.00

3. CHILDREN OF AFRICA. Illustrates the needs of children and the scope of UNICEF's work in Africa. Includes teacher's guide and commentary. All ages. Color.

Slide set	(20 slides)	#5702 \$2.00
Film strip	(20 frames)	#5714 \$2.00

4. CHILDREN OF LATIN AMERICA. Shows the lives of children in Latin America and the work of the Children's Fund on their behalf. Commentary and teacher's guide included. All ages. Color.

Slide set	(30 slides)	#5711 \$3.00
Filmstrip	(30 frames)	#5715 \$3.00

5. CHILDREN OF ASIA. Set of 30 color slides illustrating the lives of children in Asia in a wide variety of settings -- at home, school, at work, and at play, including ways in which UNICEF touches their lives. Commentary and teacher's guide included. All ages. #5712 \$3.00.

6. FACES AND PLACES AROUND THE WORLD. Color filmstrip featuring the children of developing countries and their needs of improved health, nutrition and education. Includes teacher's guide and commentary. #5704 \$3.00.

7. FIVE FAMILIES. Scholastic Company. Color Filmstrips that view families of five different cultures and show the language, clothing, food, music and customs of that culture in a beautiful and positive way.

8. FIVE CHILDREN. Scholastic Company. Color Filmstrips that views children of five different cultures and shows language, clothing, food, music and customs of the culture in a beautiful and positive way.



E. UNICEF Films:

1. "Toymaker," on suspicion among people who are different. Perfect for primary and older children. Available in libraries.

2. "Children of Asia," b & w - 15 mins. 1968. As Asia thrusts forward toward a better life, UNICEF acts as a catalyst in areas of health and education. Modern methods in water systems, milk conservation and applied nutrition give added impetus to the new ideas that complement old tradition. (Age 10 and up.)

3. "A Gift to Grow On," 13-1/2 mins. Color, 1958. The story of a poverty-ridden village in Mexico and what happens when UNICEF visits. The film opens in UNICEF's office at the UN where a group of school children deliver their "Trick or Treat" pennies and find out what happens to them. The film shows an actual malaria eradication program in action, how UNICEF cooperates with the Mexican government, and how the townspeople begin to do things on their own to better their way of life. Narrated by Garry Moore.  
NOTE: Suitable for all ages.

4. "A Grain of Sand," 13-1/2 mins. Color, 1965. The single child's reactions and emotions illustrate the need of children all over the world. This is the story of a day in the life of a little boy in Tunisia. Graphic animation by the noted artist Ronald Sparle and live action photography give dramatic impact to this UNICEF film.  
NOTE: Suitable for all ages.

5. "Hungry Angels," 20 mins. Color, 1963. Pedrito, Juanito, and Maria, three Guatemalan children born the same day in the same maternity ward, are followed in this true-to-life fiction story through the first, all-important years of their lives. From the mumbo-jumbo of a witch doctor to modern techniques, this film produced by INCAP, the Institute for Nutrition for Central America and Panama, shows the dramatic fight for life when malnutrition results from ignorance and superstition.  
NOTE: Suitable for all ages.

6. "A Nomad Boy," 20 mins. Color, 1971. The hard but happy life of a family in northern Somalia is described through the life of a 12-year old boy. Dependent on and devoted to their camels and wandering in arid rock-strewn plains, the Somali family is visited by the traveling teacher, who has been aided by UNICEF. The mind of the young boy is awakened.  
NOTE: Suitable age ten and up.

7. "The Paper Kite," 20 mins. Color, 1965. Through fantasy and dreams and puppet land magic, a wonderful story is told--a story of children living in areas where modern knowledge in health, education, and mechanical aids has yet to break through. The hero, a blond little Norwegian, flies with his kite to visit them, and he brings with him the marvels of UNICEF assistance.  
NOTE: Suitable for all ages.

8. "Patal Ganga--The Magic River," 24 minutes, Color, 1971. In one day, a le-

gend comes to life for the Indian Village of Maneela with the help of the UNICEF and WHO clean water program. This film blends tradition and reality with a background of Indian songs and folklore. (Age 10 and up.)

9. "Village on Stilts," 20 mins. Color, 1971. Granvie, a village in the water in the Republic of Dahomey, Africa, is the background for this film. A young boy's activities accentuate the introduction and development of modern ideas as they break through ancient traditions. With the assistance of UNICEF and WHO, new concepts such as sanitation, transportation and health services are introduced.

10. "To All the World's Children," Color, 34 minutes, 1972. This delightful film, condensed from an ABC-TV network broadcast, focuses on the lives of three children of Kenya, Paraguay, and Ceylon. As it examines their common need for UNICEF's help to improve their health and education, the camera also reveals the diverse music, dance, games, and pageantry of their countries. (Ages 10 and up.) Color, 34 minutes, 1972.

11. "We Are One," b & w, 15 mins, 1967. Children are the same when they are born, but soon the difference between children in the richer countries and those in the underdeveloped ones becomes apparent. Children want to eat, to play and to learn. We must help them to become one--to grow up in friendship and responsibility. (Ages 10 and up.)

F. UNICEF Display Materials:

1. COLOR PICTORIAL EXHIBIT. Ten color poster photographs (11"x15") depicting scenes of children in varied situations and illustrating ways in which UNICEF helps. For display or classroom use. New in 1974. #5602 \$1.25

2. PHOTO SET: UNICEF'S CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. Twelve black and white photographs (12"x14") with captions, showing children in school settings around the world and illustrating UNICEF's aid to education. For display or classroom use.. #5601 \$1.00

3. FESTIVAL FIGURES. Sets of eight 14" high cardboard figures in full-color festival attire of their regions. Includes information on clothing of each country. Can be free standing or attached to bulletin board.

G. UNICEF Teaching Kits

1. TEACHING ABOUT INTERDEPENDENCE IN A PEACEFUL WORLD. Materials and resources focusing on two related concepts--interdependence and peace. Outlines need for sharing and peaceful solutions to problems of global resource scarcity. Includes readings for the teacher and a classroom simulation exercise illustrating the interdependent effects of food consumption patterns, with a teacher's guide and an annotated bibliography. #5418-\$1.50



D. THE MILITARY AND WAR

1. THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL
2. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
3. THE REALITIES OF WAR
4. THE CAUSES OF WAR
5. ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

It is necessary to note before proceeding further that we do not hold a kind of "devil theory" that identifies the U.S. as the only sources of evil; especially when it comes to the military and war. Other nations are equally, and in some cases even more, responsible for the lack of peace and justice in the world. These units, and the manual in general, focus on the U.S. because as U.S. citizens we need to put our own house in order and because the U.S. currently has greater influence and power, for good or for bad, than any other nation in history--but not because the U.S. is the sole cause of the world's problems.

## THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

### GOALS and RELEVANCE

The military as an institution and a social force in the US can be looked at from many different angles. In this unit we have chosen to consider it from the perspective of what effect the military and military life has on the individual. One's attitudes toward the military has a bearing on one's attitudes toward peace and how peace can best be achieved. Therefore, it seems essential to examine critically the military and how it relates to people.

This critical examination of different aspects of the military is our main goal. In order to achieve this, we have chosen to proceed in one particular vein--to present ideas revolving around what might be called an alternative view of the military. We do this because we feel in general that we have all been programmed and conditioned into a pro-military outlook through our culture, our education, advertising, etc. E.G. "The Army makes a man out of you"; the whole West Point tradition; the "machismo" ethic (the true man is the warrior). This is not to say that there is nothing good that can be said for the military. It is to say that we need to analyze the military from the perspective of peace and justice, and therefore, the analysis must be critical.

### CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

1. Find out where students are in their thinking about military life. Do they have any feelings about it? Where do they get their images of military life?

#### 2. Recruitment

Most members of the military (enlisted men) are there as conscripts. This does not mean necessarily that they entered because they were drafted, but it means that they entered because of a lack of alternatives. Some judges, perhaps very well-intentioned, have given young men the options of jail or the military. Those that have entered by a positive choice have often done so because of an image that does not correlate with reality.

Have students bring in advertisements of military recruitment. Perhaps make a display of these. Then perhaps interview many different military men as to the truthfulness of these images. Note: It would seem that whenever you would get military people to either speak to the class or to be part of some kind of class research project, it would be important to learn their attitudes on peace and justice as values. This is not to say that only speakers that share the same values should be allowed to speak, but that they should realize that these are the concerns you have and be able to relate to those. Also, in doing any kind of interviewing or having any kind of speaker, it is important to keep in mind that the military experience is different for officers than it is for

enlisted men.

Note to High School Administrators: We feel it is important for high school administrators to examine critically any school policy that involves including military recruiters in vocational or career days in the school. Definitely, if these recruiters are present in the school, students must be helped to evaluate realistically what is said and what kind of written material is handed out. One way of facilitating this evaluation is to have speakers and written material which have a perspective opposite to the military viewpoint and to which students have the same kind of access.

Second Note: The induction forms for the Volunteer Army, partially because of pressure from various anti-war groups, are more realistic than in the past. They state that the Army is not responsible for any promises that the recruiter has made. They also state some possible offenses and punishments. Teachers, counselors, administrators should certainly get ahold of these forms and go over them with students.

3. Techniques of control in the military (in order for it to achieve its goals):

#### a. Isolation.

From the outside world; In the lower ranks because of an ignorance of their rights; To some extent from each other through the stiff competition (Refer to example at the end of this unit about JROTC at CBC), though this point is debatable because of the camaraderie most see engendered in the military (at least in battlefield conditions)--see J. Glenn Gray, The Warriors: Reflections on men in Battle.

#### b. Depersonalization

Critics would say this is essential for the US military to do in order to get men to do the kinds of things men are asked to do today in the military. Critics would also say that this depersonalization would not be necessary if the US military were really for the purpose of defending one's country or of giving national service (see opening comments on the military in the JROTC story at CBC).

A good reading for the teacher on what happens to a man in basic training is "The Military and the Individual" by Peter Bourne, MD.

These two factors, isolation and depersonalization, lead to feelings of powerlessness and futility which could cause men to go to drugs or to desert in an exercise of apathy, or sometimes (but less often) to band together in some kind of common defense.

Consider this quote from a former military man: "The military atmosphere is deadening, stultifying, so guys turn to anything that will turn them on--liquor,

pot, sex."

The whole issue of boredom is dealt with to some extent in "The Winter Soldier",\* where men testify about what happens when extreme boredom sets in during a wartime situation. Students could relate to the issue of boredom. Perhaps have them talk about what they do when they are bored--perhaps have them project what they would do (and want to do) on a military base or in a wartime situation.

Three specific forces should be mentioned which operate in the military as they operate in other social institutions: racism, sexism, and elitism. Talking to veterans would probably be one of the most effective ways for students to grasp the realities of all three--racism, as far as the treatment of minorities within the armed forces and as far as the attitudes engendered towards non-white "enemies" during wartime; sexism, as far as the treatment of women within the military (e.g., higher admission requirements for women, etc.) and the exploitation of women as sex objects that is part of military life (see RACISM and PEACE AND JUSTICE FOR WOMEN); elitism (officer/enlisted man dichotomy) bears particular significance for students both elementary and secondary, because it is a phenomenon most children are personally familiar with. This elitist attitude is built into the enlisted man's experience in the sense of not being able to participate in decisions affecting him; not being able to relax in the same areas as the officers; having to accept insults; in total, feeling powerless and frustrated much of the time. It seems that children have constant experience with one person or group being "on top" in school or in the neighborhood and could understand those feelings of powerlessness and frustration. A simulation designed to aid in this understanding is described in the RACISM unit (appointing one group--e.g., those with brown eyes--as "top" group in the class)--(pp. 61 )

#### 4. Individual in Wartime

See suggestions in Intercom (Jan-Feb., 1971), "The Human Person and the War System"

A specific focus might be the My Lai situation and the whole issue of war crimes and the Nuremberg tradition. See AEP's "The Limits of War" (especially pp. 13-27, on Nuremberg). See also War Crimes: US Priorities and Military Force (a report of the National Inquiry Group for the National Council of Churches);

View "The Winter Soldier" and have a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War speak to the issues raised in it (perhaps someone not sympathetic to VVAW also).

Below is an Army marching cadence. The students might want to talk about what it says about attitudes built up the military.

"I Wanna Go To Viet-Nam  
I Wanna Kill a Viet-Cong  
With A Knife Or With A Gun  
Either Way Will Be Good Fun  
Stomp 'Em, Beat 'em, Kick 'Em In the Ass  
Hide Their Bodies in the Grass  
But If I Die In The Combat Zone  
Box Me Up And Ship Me Home

\* a film available from Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization  
827 W. Newport, Chicago, Ill. 60657

Fold My Arms Across My Chest  
Tell My Folks I Done My Best  
Place a Bible In My Hand  
For my Trip to the Promised Land"

#### 5. A case study: JROTC at CBC High School in St. Louis

Read the newspaper article about the retention of JROTC as compulsory at this St. Louis Catholic high school run by the Christian Brothers. Have the students evaluate the arguments on both sides, particularly concerning the effects of military training on individuals and education, and all the values education professes.

For our purposes here, the import of the article and the page "A Rationale for A New Identity for CBC" revolve mostly around what attitudes are being expressed about the military. But those teachers in Christian schools should consider what is being said about the goals of Christian education.

6. Finally, there is the question of amnesty. This issue also focuses directly on the individual's relationship to war. Concretize the issue and have students discuss the merits of President Ford's conditional amnesty program, an unconditional amnesty program, and no amnesty at all. One concrete instance occurred in late 1974 when a Florida community put enough pressure on the local Civil Service agency that a participant in President Ford's amnesty program working for the city as an engineer for \$11,000 a year was fired. See the article, p. 178. You might have the students role play the City Council meeting at which this situation was first brought up. Have them choose the particular role(s) that allows them the best opportunity to express their own position. You might also reverse roles, so that they get some insight into how other people think and why.

For an overall perspective on amnesty, consult the sources listed in the bibliography and the enclosed article, "Amnesty and the Christian." Within the classroom, it seems imperative to discuss honestly all points of view. Perhaps have speakers come in with differing viewpoints, speakers who are open to questions by students.

Although current (1976) Selective Service procedures have to some extent eliminated or reduced considerably the practice of filing for Conscientious Objector (CO) status (CO form 150 is no longer in use); and although the current cessation of the draft has eliminated the need for many people to register as COs; and although draft boards do not function as they did in the early 70's, we still see merit in students' having some kind of experience of what it would mean to declare oneself as a CO. The importance would lie partially in helping to clear up misconceptions about CO status, but also in the thought process that would go into deciding whether or not one wanted to be a CO. Perhaps a mock draft board session in which one

student presents his or her case as a conscientious objector and other members of the class serve as members of the draft board would be a helpful technique.

local school children.

On display are some 50 or more full-size atomic weapons with funny or attractive names such as FAT MAN and BULLPUP, HONEST JOHN, LITTLE BOY (which destroyed Hiroshima) and DAVEY CROCKETT. The children are allowed to pat them, move their fins, and to climb into the bomb bay of a real live B52, which can deliver these charming toys.

## 7. Younger Children and the Military

a. Help them become more aware of the dimensions of their play. In other words, help them think through their acting out of "soldiering"--the stalking, shooting, dying, etc. Can some other form of play capture the same sense of adventure, perhaps "hide and go seek"?

b. De-Mystify war toys. This is probably more of a concern for parents than for teachers, but alternative views are sometimes only found in the classroom. For example, perhaps guns could be talked of in terms of tools (for obtaining food) and sports equipment. And perhaps children could find other tools and other sports equipment much more interesting.

A simple story book for young children is A Gun Is Not a Toy (Beverly Breton, 1975, Stop and Grow Book Nook, Wilde Lake Interfaith Center, Wilde Lake Village Green, Columbia, Md. 21044). This could be used to spark a discussion on the children's attitudes toward guns. (see REALITIES OF WAR unit for more ideas for children).

c. For middle grades, it might be helpful to investigate their perceptions of the military--what is a soldier? Why do people want to be soldiers? Why do people not want to be soldiers? A suggestion to bring out the human dimension and the realities of soldiering is the use of photographic journals such as Robert Capa, Images of War (Paraphrastic Books), and And/Or: Antonyms for Our Age, by Marjorie Morris and Don Sauers (Harder and Row). The Vietnam Veterans Against the War might be helpful with this age group also.

d. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has also done some good work on early childhood education. National headquarters: 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. In St. Louis, contact Eldora Spiegelberg (721-4918) or Yvonne Logan 644-5735

e. The following article (reprinted from the June, 1974 issue of The Pacifist (England) could be a starting point for discussion of children and their attitude towards war:

### CHILDREN AND WAR

"Years ago, when... pacifist organizations applied for a stall at the 'Schoolboys Exhibition', their request was refused on the ground that children must not be 'burdened with the problems of war'. As Simon Winchester recently reported from New Mexico, no such scruples cloud the minds of the U.S. Airforce. On their base at Albuquerque, NM, there is the National Atomic Museum, a favourite attraction for the

It isn't as though the kids were left in any doubt as to the lethal nature of the things they see. In addition to the actual hardware, they are shown the film 'Ten Seconds that Shook the World' about the destruction of Hiroshima, and their appreciation is expressed in letters to the Museum. 'Thank you', wrote one little boy, 'for showing the film about how the Americans bombed Hiroshima and slaughtered (sic) millions of people and demolished their homes and their cities.'

A whole wall is given over to the young visitors' drawings of what they have seen, and their comments, and schools take it in turn to provide these decorations. When Simon Winchester saw the Museum, they had been furnished by a local kindergarten and included expressions of thanks, such as 'I liked your film very much'. You have nice rockets and nice bombs. Thank you, love, Joe Tomes.'

Naturally, pain and distress suffered by others are beyond the imagination of small children, and death has no meaning to them; but in the process of growing up their minds can be either hardened by a constant bombardment with horrors and violence in the guise of entertainment, or made sensitive to the suffering of others by an imaginative upbringing. One hates to think what kind of citizen will emerge from a chrysalis trained to delight in the 'slaughter' of people and to take pride in the fact that it was done by Americans." (Reprinted in Shalom House Jan., 1975, Issue #9)--Shalom House, 40 So. 13th St., Kansas City, KS 66102.

### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dennis Cummins, "How the Military Works On People", available in St. Louis from the American Friends Service Committee, 438 N. Skinner, St. Louis, MO 63130.

Intercom and AEP issues listed in unit on "Why War?" Peter G. Bourne, M.D., "The Military and the Individual", in Conscience and Command (ed. by James Finn).

Trends magazine (May/June 1973 issue called "Casualties of Vietnam", done by The Program Agency of the United Presbyterian Church USA, 723 Witherspoon bldg., Philadelphia, PA 19107. War Crimes: US Priorities and Military Force, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Dr., New York 10027.

"Night and Fog"--directed by Alain Resnais, 31 minutes, a powerful and distressing film made primarily from documentary footage taken by German photographers in the Nazi concentration camps, some of which was used in the Nuremberg



trials. Must be shown with preview and preparation.

See War/Peace Film Guide, World Without War Council. See units on "Why War?" and "Alternatives to War" and Part II, unit on "War and Military Service"

On Amnesty

Harrop Freeman, "One Nation Indivisible: The Legal and Historical Case for Amnesty"--Fellowship Publications, Box 271, NYack, NY 10960. 10¢.

John M. Swomley, "Amnesty: The Record and the Need"--Clergy and Laity Concerned, 235 E. 49th St., NY 10017 20¢.

"Amnesty"--a special supplement of American Report, 235 E. 49th St., NY 10017.

"Amnesty Or Exile?"--35 minutes, B&W, National Council of Churches; excerpts of interviews, congressional hearings, views pro and con, from a human perspective primarily. Rental \$25.

National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty--source for current information on amnesty.

Central Committee for Conscientious Objection--up-to-date information on conscientious objection.

War Resisters League has done work on amnesty and JROTC.

The Missouri Commission on the Status of Women is a possible resource for information on sexism in the military.

#### AMNESTY AND THE CHRISTIAN -- by James B. McGinnis

It is vitally important that Americans now turn their attention to the task of reconciliation not only in Southeast Asia but also in our country. This war can well leave a residue of bitterness which could poison our national life for years to come. This must not be allowed to happen. We must instead seek to resolve our differences in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect ....

In a spirit of reconciliation, all possible consideration must be given to those young men who, because of sincere conscientious belief, refused to participate in the war. A year ago, we urged 'that the civil authorities grant generous pardon of convictions incurred under the Selective Service Act, with the understanding that sincere conscientious objectors should remain open in principle to some form of service to the community.' We again urge government officials and all Americans to respond in this spirit to the conspicuous need to find a solution to the problems of these men. Generosity represents the best of the American tradition and should characterize our response to this urgent challenge. (THE IMPERATIVES OF PEACE, November 1972)

The question of amnesty is clearly one which the Christian churches have already spoken on. In advocating amnesty, the U.S. Catholic Bishops (above) are calling for national reconciliation. They are not asking us to forgive those who have supposedly committed crimes, for amnesty more properly means forgetting -- "the blessed act of oblivion."

To whom should amnesty be extended? The excerpt from the Catholic bishops' statement refers to those "who, because of sincere conscientious belief, refused to participate in the war." This would seem to include not only draft resisters, in exile or underground, but also a) deserters, either in exile or underground; b) those currently in prison or military stockades, those on probation, those who have already served their sentences, and those who face or are subject to prosecution for draft or military law violations; c) Vietnam era veterans with less than honorable discharges; and d) those who have committed or are being prosecuted for civilian acts of resistance to the war. Such a general amnesty would cover a number, by some estimates, of about 1,000,000..

But why, if almost one million persons have resisted the war in such a direct way and the majority of Americans considered the war at least a mistake if not immoral as well -- why

is there today so much resistance to a national act of reconciliation?

First, it is difficult to forgive or forget. It is difficult for me to "grant amnesty" to President Nixon and others for what I consider to be immoral and illegal acts. It is difficult for me to respect the convictions of those who killed. Yet all of us must, as Christians, rise above our natural feelings and judge not the motives of either those who fought or resisted. Amnesty as reconciliation is meant not just for those who participated, supported, or conducted the war. We all need to be healed by God and to accept one another back, difficult though that be.

Secondly, it is especially difficult at this time of the return of our POW's. We honor the POW's as men who believed in something and who suffered greatly. The resisters, too, have believed in something and have suffered many consequences, some jail terms, others exile from all they knew.

But many of them are deserters, you shout. What's a "deserter"? Would you call a doctor a "deserter" if he refused to perform an abortion and left the hospital when it put pressure on him? Even when perhaps a majority of Americans believe abortion to be right, you and I MIGHT still call that doctor a hero -- for refusing to cooperate in what he considered to be an evil. Why, then, do we scorn men who refused to kill in Southeast Asia? Either both are heroes or both are "deserters."

One reason for scorning "deserters" is machismo -- it is the warrior who is a man. Those who refuse to fight are cowards or effeminate, says our culture. President Kennedy was prophetic when he said: "War will exist until the distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige as the warrior does today." Most of us have not been able to swallow that idea any more than we have the words of Jesus: "Blessed are the gentle, for they shall inherit the land." But honesty is still an American virtue, so let us be honest and admit that when we reject gentleness and reconciliation, we are rejecting the Gospel of our Lord.

But is not love of country still a virtue? Yes, it is. However, love of God comes first -- we have but one Lord. We are obedient to the directives and laws of our country until we believe they contradict the law of God. Furthermore, whoever said that "loving" one's country meant helping it to do something you believe is wrong?

But the government and the military will not survive if people can choose what laws they will obey or what wars they

180

will fight, you claim. From a Christian perspective, such an argument does not stand up. The American Catholic Church has supported the position of "selective conscientious objection", which says precisely that individuals may and must do just that -- judge the morality of a particular war before agreeing to participate.

However, from a merely political perspective, this question is not so easy to resolve. Individual conscience and the needs of the state are often being weighed against each other in a democracy. But name a country that has crumpled from granting too much respect for individual conscience! Totalitarian regimes crumple frequently. For a democracy to function in a way that promotes "life and liberty" and justice, etc., one necessary ingredient is a healthy dose of moral non-conformity. It is those who dare to challenge the country to live up to its ideals who keep the promise of America alive. Yet we do not even want to let some of these back in.

President Nixon stated that "it would be the most immoral thing I could think of to give amnesty to draft dodgers and those who deserted." "Immoral" from what standard? Certainly not a Christian one, for even if you feel that draft dodgers and deserters have committed crimes, there is the parable of the "Prodigal Son". The Word of God was never intended to apply to only non-controversial issues.

Perhaps the President is thinking of those who fought and died. But as the Interfaith Conference on Amnesty stated last March (1973):

By seeking amnesty we do not dishonor the consciences or the acts of those who fought and died. Our hope is that by abstaining from all punitive acts, against those who prosecuted this war and against those who refused to participate in it, we shall affirm a spirit of humanity that will stand the nation in good stead as it makes peace with the world.

Christians as Christians can disagree on the extent to which amnesty should be granted and whether it should be conditional upon performance of alternative service, but the Gospel of Jesus -- the message of reconciliation, gentleness, love -- seems unmistakably to support the idea of amnesty. It may not be easy to accept amnesty, but it is certainly Christian.

## A RATIONALE FOR A NEW IDENTITY FOR CBC

The JROTC military program should be discontinued for the following reasons:

### 1. Religious:

A Catholic school should witness to peace.

Adherence to the Gospel of Christ rejects the use of force to solve human conflicts. Christ's message of love and peace to all men implies that Christians should foster peaceful means of conflict resolution. Military training fosters a sympathy for the use of physical force and a loyalty to military methods of "solving" the problems of men and nations. Our Church at Vatican II condemns militarism at every level.

### 2. Educational:

The time spent on JROTC can be better spent on academic matters.

A serious academic program is the heart of every school. The tradition of the Christian Brothers is an apostolate of the formation of youth by means of academic work. The JROTC program and its accompanying atmosphere is a continual distraction from this serious academic pursuit. Competition among the students for rank and status in the military program is very obvious and is, in effect, a blurring of the academic goals of the school. The identity of the school focuses on the military to the detriment of academics.

### 3. Personal Growth:

The JROTC does not foster personal growth.

A basic need of adolescents is to have self-expression in their search for identity. The demands and atmosphere of the JROTC are rigid and formalistic; stress is given to conforming to external manifestations. An adolescent should be encouraged to have initiative, to develop self-direction, to seek legitimate individuality. The JROTC fosters the opposite: conformity to externals, an unthinking obedience, an unhealthy passivity.

The high ranks in the JROTC are assigned to those students who refuse to challenge this system of conformity and the atmosphere of passivity. This clearly is not healthy for the young people who are seeking an identity in our culture, a culture which does stress individualism, self-direction and flexibility.

### 4. Social:

THE JROTC has a detrimental influence on trust and friendship.

Senior officers are not always trusted because of their power of rank in the JROTC. A spirit of divisiveness pervades the school. Students are labeled as "for" or "against" the military. The result is a breakdown of student unity and trust in one another of



5. Psychologicals: The JROTC has created a spirit of rebellion at CBC.

The military system is the dominating identity experienced by the students. Students, especially the juniors and seniors, have lost respect for this system, and the consequence is a spirit of uncooperativeness toward all school programs--academic, religious and cultural--not only the military itself.

The military regulations themselves are not enforced consistently. At times the hair length regulations are disregarded, at other times they are enforced. The student officers appear unwilling even to cooperate.

An interesting phenomenon each year is the behavior of the graduates. So many over-react to their new found freedom--an over-reaction actually to the conformist and formalistic atmosphere of the school and JROTC.

6. Enrollment: Students are not attending CBC because of the JROTC.

The loss of enrollment threatens the existence of the school. Though factors are involved other than the JROTC, it does seem apparent that eighth graders are not interested in the military program. It has little appeal today. In fact, many of the students who transfer out of CBC after one or two years say that it was a decision because of the JROTC.

For these summary reasons it seems necessary to discontinue the JROTC at CBC. The immediate need, of course, will be to develop a new identity within the school. The obvious identity will have to put a new stress on academics and Christian goals. The faculty is capable and, no doubt, willing to re-focus on these fundamental aspects of Christian education.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. There are several ways the topic of the military-industrial complex can be seen within the genus Peace Studies. Most simply, some of us believe it is wrong for corporations to make a profit from production of bombs and machine guns and rockets. A second view of the topic sees the military-industrial complex as an unjust giant out to rob the entire world for the profit of a few. Finally, a more complex picture of the military-industrial complex shows that President Eisenhower's worst fears are coming true -- that multinational corporations already have more power and money than many governments and we must understand and learn to change their corporate structures in order to build lasting world peace.

2. Objectives for days one to six:

- a. Provide teacher with opportunity to act as co-learner.
- b. Provide Students with broad research experience.
- c. Provide teacher and students with knowledge of the extent to which the military-industrial complex pervades their geographic area.

3. Objectives for days seven and eight:

Provide teacher and student with knowledge of the concept of corporate responsibility.

4. Objectives for days nine and ten:

Provide teacher and student with a choice of directions in which to continue their study.

5. Teacher as Co-Learner. If you are interested in trying out the co-learner theories of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich, this topic is a good place to start. We have attempted to develop a useful, simple guide to community research for you and your class.

DAY ONE

1. Eisenhower first used the term "Military-Industrial Complex" as follows:

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience... We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications.... In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist" (Farewell Radio and Television address to the American People, January 17, 1961.)

Read his statement with the class and discuss it briefly.

2. What are the major corporations with home offices in your geographical area? Ask the students and list those they can name on the board. With the class try to

estimate the national rank of these corporations, their total sales figures in dollars and cents, their assets in dollars and cents. (does Corporation X sell a million dollars worth of can openers a year? does it own two million dollars worth of land and building and equipment?), net income, and number of employees.

Make sure the students understand these terms. As a co-learner, your job is to share your research skills--such as how to be sure you are using terms correctly and where to search for information. The students will share their resources (a father who works for Corporation X) and the data they gather.

3. The May issue of Fortune Magazine lists the top 500 U.S. corporations on the basis of their overall showing during the past year in terms of sales, assets, net profit, number of employees. Pass out copies of this article.

4. Homework: pick out all the corporations that are your geographical area. Study the charts to see what information you can gain about these corporations.

DAY TWO

1. Discuss the Fortune article.

2. Each May, Forbes Magazine lists the top 500 corporations in each of the following categories: assets, revenue (sales), net profit, and market value. Again, pass around a copy of that issue or, better, a duplication of that article.

3. Discuss the Forbes article. Where does it differ from Fortune? Be sure the students understand the basic terms. Perhaps you will wish to invite a resource person in to explain to all of you the meaning of the terms, giving lots of clear examples.

4. Compile a list of the corporations in your geographical area.

5. If time permits, begin to work described in Day Three.

DAY THREE

1. Present this list of basic research questions:

- a. What are the corporation's products?
- b. Who are its chief officers?
- c. Who are its board of directors?
- d. What salaries do the persons in categories 3) and 4) make?
- e. How many are women?
- f. How many are minorities?
- g. What are the corporation's subsidiaries (companies owned by the corporation)?
- h. How important is the corporation to the community?

2. What people do the class members know who can answer some of these questions?

3. Where else can the class go to get answers? The reference librarian at the public library may be helpful here.

4. Divide into groups, each group selecting a corporation to research.

#### DAYS FOUR AND FIVE

Work on the telephone and in the library to find the answers to the list of basic research questions. They are all a matter of public record, except for question 3, but it may take some ingenious research to get the answers. While everyone can succeed in this subject, question 3 gives brighter and older students an open field for research.

#### DAY SIX

1. Compile the research. On a roll of butcher paper or brown wrapping paper put together a Cast of Corporations in alphabetical order which lists the officers, subsidiaries, number of employees, products, and other relevant data.
2. Start a chart with a list of the corporations down one side and an alphabetical list of all the corporation officers and directors across the top. Put an "X" in each corporation row where the man in the column serves as a corporation officer or director. Now you have a picture of the interlocking directorates.
3. Begin to compile an alphabetical Cast of Characters, listing not only the corporations each man serves but also the non-profit organizations he helps to direct, such as the United Fund.
4. Continue researching the question "How important is Corporation X to the community?"

Note to the teacher: hopefully your class has now formed several research groups which discover new sources of information and new ways of compiling it and share these with others. Also, the students should be encouraged to ask such questions as "Is it a good thing that the men who head the corporations also head most of the non-profit educational and service organizations?"

#### DAYS SEVEN AND EIGHT

Read in class Philip Moore's article "Corporate Social Reform: An Activist's Viewpoint" which is appended. I recommend you read it out loud in class and discuss it paragraph by paragraph, even if the students are seniors. During the reading they should raise questions stemming from their reading. The last part of day 8 can be spent performing "The Pentagon Finds a Contractor," a skit which is included in this section. By this time in the unit, students should be able to understand it readily.

#### DAYS NINE AND TEN

Now you and your class have enough information and research skills to choose your own direction. Here are some possibilities:

1. Study some of the work radical analysis groups have done in Win Magazine, for instance. Invite some activists to speak to the class. Read George Lakey's Strategies for a Living Revolution and plan out a variety of strategies, practical and wild, just for fun.

2. Buy a share of stock as a class to understand more of how it all works. Get proxies from community residents and all attend a shareholders' meeting. Don't be afraid to ask questions.

3. Write some interview questions and interview all the Cast of Characters. Record the interviews on tape and share them with everybody studying a corporation the interviewee directs.

4. Choose one corporation with Department of Defense (DOD) contracts and study the possibilities of conversion to peacetime products. You can be sure they have thought of this too. If you are tactful, you can learn a lot from them.

5. Build a new world-wide economic system and send it (them) to Robert Theobald (futurist, at Swallow Press, Chicago) and any other people you might care about how students are trying to learn to manage systems. (Send copies to our Institute too.)

6. Study and discuss the ethical responsibilities of corporations. Write a taxonomy of corporate morals.

7. Use the appended article "Defense Dependency of St. Louis" as a model for further community research.

8. Appended are two publications from NARMIC: "How to Research your Local War Industry" and "How to Read Defense Contract Listings." If you want to take your class research further, or if you want to develop a project within an adult study group, these "How to" papers are excellent. NARMIC is a careful, accurate research source and we are proud to include some of their materials.

A teaching note: the position the authors take in this section will be upsetting to many teachers, students, and parents--that is, that our present system of non-regulation of the military-industrial complex is unjust to the middle class. It may be helpful for you as teacher to read Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered by E.F. Schumacher and to read or work through our Manual section JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, pp. 91-98.

#### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. National Council of Churches, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Corporate Action Project, Investor Responsibility Research Center, Inc., NARMIC (National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex), Daily Death Toll Group.
2. See the bibliographical references to the military-industrial complex and economic conversion in the unit on ALTERNATIVES TO WAR.
3. Seymour Melman, The War Economy of the United States (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1971)--an excellent collection of essays on this general topic.
4. Pentagon Capitalism A thorough treatment of the full extent

of the military-industrial complex.

5. Finding Community: A Guide to Community Research and Action by Ron Jones (James E. Freel and Associates, 1971) provides a guide to studying your whole community that is much like this unit. The question Jones raises, though, for the study of the warfare economy and corporate America are different than the ones we raise here. The book is an excellent source book and would be a fine text for a study of the problems/possibilities of your community. Good for learners from junior high through adulthood.

6. Shumacher, E.F. Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered. New York: 1975. Paper, \$3.75.

7. "You Don't Have to Buy War Anymore, Mrs. Smith," is a powerful 28-min, b & w, 16mm film of a speech by Bess Myerson on the futility of pursuing peace through a continuous escalation of weapons. After graphically describing various weapon systems, she outlines our real sources of insecurity in this country--poverty, pollution, despair. Then, she calls on specific corporations involved in military contracts to produce the kinds of items that would really improve the quality of life. The documentation she provides is part of the great impact of her message. Available for only \$25 from Another Mother for Peace, Los Angeles. You can rent it from us as well, for \$3-\$5.

"The Pentagon Finds a Contractor"--A role-play  
on the use of government money

Pentagon: Good day to you. I am the Pentagon and I have over \$100 billion to spend this year. Because America needs weapons to be safe and secure, I'm going to spend a whole lot of money on weapons. Who out there knows how to make weapons? (Pause) You there, can you make a good electronic gadget to guide our missiles from North Dakota to Siberia?

Contractor: Certainly. I am a Defense Industry, aren't I? I've made lots of money making parts for you before, and I'd be more than happy to do it again. Now for the low price of \$6 million, we can give you just what you need.

Pentagon: Oh, yes, I remember you. \$6 million is an awful lot. Perhaps I should shop around and see if I can't get it made cheaper.

Contractor: OK, but remember: these other firms are inexperienced at this sort of production. It will take time for them to organize to make the parts. We, on the other hand, are ready to go right now. And in the interests of national security, I think any delay would be dangerous and . . .

Pentagon: All right, I see your point. You may have the contract. But remember, \$6 million and not a penny more. The taxpayers don't like these weapon systems costing more than they are supposed to. Remember the uproar when Litton Industries said 30 destroyers would cost me only \$70 million a piece but ended up costing me \$83 million each. Whew! I don't want to go through that again.

Contractor: Don't worry about that. \$6 million is plenty. That is, if we don't have any cost increases in the meantime.

Pentagon: Sounds good to me. But if you do run into trouble with money, maybe I can swing a loan for you.

Contractor: A loan? From whom?

Pentagon: From the Federal Government, that's who. I have a lot of influence over at the Capitol. I have the largest lobby in Washington (boastfully). How do you think Lockheed was able to get a \$210 million loan in 1971? By working for me, that's how.

Contractor: I remember well. Yes, Lockheed was quite fortunate to work for you. Who else could they sell a 3-1/2" bolt to for \$65?

Pentagon: Whew, I wish you wouldn't bring that up. There are a lot of fanatics out there using examples like that to take my money away.

Contractor: I know. I still hear them talking about that incredible sale Boeing Aircraft made to you. You remember, when they sold you those jets that cost them \$25 to make for \$1,080 each.

Pentagon: (Flustered) Now wait just a minute. Errors like that are the rarest of exceptions and I won't have you talking about them as if that were the normal course of events around here. Just to make sure that doesn't happen with our \$6 million deal, you'll have to give me a complete accounting of all the money you spend making those gadgets.

Contractor: (Upset) Hold it right there. You know Defense Contractors never have to give a complete accounting of how they spend their money. If we did, our competition would learn our secrets and gain an unfair advantage.

Pentagon: But you have no competitors. I won't buy these parts from anyone else.



I can understand that you have to make a profit, otherwise you won't be able to work for me. And I know all about secrecy so you don't have to reveal all your trade secrets.

Contractor: (Soothed) Well, I'm glad you understand my position. I have nothing to hide, but, after all, this is business.

Pentagon: Right you are. I understand that very well since so many of my top people have worked for Defense Industries at one time or another. But you must understand my position too: taxpayers get upset when they hear of wasteful spending and then they write to their Congressional representatives who start to talk about cutting the military budget.

Contractor: What are you worried about? You've got over \$100 billion this year and you always get as much money as you want.

Pentagon: I'm worried about national security, that's what. Any minute we could become involved in a tremendous struggle with our enemies in the world and if we don't have the military strength to meet that challenge, it could be all over.

Contractor: All over? Listen: if I make this gadget for you and you send missiles to Siberia from North Dakota, won't the Russians retaliate and won't it be all over then?

Pentagon: Not if we're strong enough.

Contractor: Huh?

Pentagon: It's all a question of military strength. You're a civilian, you don't understand. Let me put it this way: right now we can destroy the Soviet Union 36 times over, give or take a few times. But if we can destroy them even more times over, they'll be too afraid to start anything.

Contractor: Excuse me, but isn't once enough?

Pentagon: Look, do you want the contract or not?

Contractor: Yes, of course. It was just a question. Well, I'd better get to work. Good day to you.

Pentagon: Same to you. I'd better get back to work too. Let's see, how will I spend.

All the information and statistics in this role-play can be documented in the Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Parts 1-6; available from the Government Printing Office.



Report of the Student Advisory Committee  
on International Affairs

Defense Dependency of St. Louis

prepared by

Alan Schmidt and

Julie Kerksick

The following essay is the final report of a research project in St. Louis during 1973-74. It shows the high dependency of St. Louis on the defense industries and the precarious situation of employment in St. Louis. Even more, the essay shows us how essential it is for us to develop and spread the concept of "peace conversion," that is, the redirection of industry away from defense and toward such ongoing human needs as mass transit, heavy but delicate hospital equipment, and pollution control. Such an economic conversion would be difficult to achieve but the essay shows it would be much simpler than attempting to alleviate the disastrous consequences of an abrupt end to the defense industry in St. Louis, caused perhaps by an Act of Congress or the choice of McDonnell-Douglas to move elsewhere. For further information on peace conversion, write Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), with reference to the "B-1 Bomber and Peace Conversion Campaign."

The St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area includes the City of St. Louis, together with St. Louis, St. Charles, Jefferson, and Franklin Counties in Missouri and St. Clair and Madison Counties in Illinois. In 1970, the population of the St. Louis metropolitan area was approximately 2.4 million. Of this total population, 274,300 were estimated to be employed in manufacturing jobs, 33,000 of whom were employed by one firm, McDonnell-Douglas Corporation. Between 1958 and 1970, of a total growth in manufacturing jobs in this region of 19,300, 9,600 could be directly attributable to employment increases by McDonnell-Douglas. Such a figure indicates that nearly 50% of all new manufacturing jobs in this region in the past decade and a half are a result of one firm's expansion. As a result of this unprecedented growth of one firm, a firm engaged overwhelmingly in military contracting for the Department of Defense, together with a correlated decline in numerous other industries in this region, the St. Louis economy has come to be dependent upon military expenditures to a degree whereby the long-term economic health of our community is in jeopardy. It seems that St. Louis has invested a considerable amount of its economic eggs in one basket, a basket which is subject to annual review by an increasingly hostile Congress.

St. Louis is a defense dependent community. The major factor creating this dependency is this community's reliance upon McDonnell-Douglas Corporation as a buttress for this region's sagging economy. This reliance can and should be eliminated.

Let us consider what our nation as a whole contributes to military programs in order to establish a yardstick for comparison with our local community.

Much is mentioned in the national press about our national priorities, that an excessive amount of our national resources is spent on the military while urgent needs go unmet at home. Yet, far too often, we have little idea of how the federal dollar hits home in our community. Where do our tax dollars go when Washington pays its bills? Let's look at the national picture:

#### National Domestic Expenditures

Fiscal Year	Total Outlays	Defense Outlays	% of Total
1967	\$168,695,079,581	\$57,403,313,000	34.0 %
1968	186,541,508,803	63,242,955,000	33.9
1969	198,999,660,038	62,966,215,000	31.6
1970	190,009,979,646	57,653,475,000	30.3
1971	208,848,148,087	59,368,905,000	28.4
1972	227,013,989,625	64,678,223,000	28.4

It should be noted that total outlays includes funds from federal trust funds, such as social security and highways, over which Congress has little control, and additionally, are collected separately from income taxes. Also, defense outlays do not include overseas expenditures, such as in Europe or Southeast Asia, nor do they include defense related items in the federal budget, such as the Veterans Administration costs, the Atomic Energy Commission's military programs, and payments on the national debt, most of which is a result of borrowing to pay for wars. Should these matters be taken into account, the percentage of national (as well as local) federal expenditures devoted to defense would increase substantially. Thus, for example, the percentage of federal funds controlled by Congress in 1972 which were devoted to defense and defense related activities and programs would rise from 28.4%, as cited in the above table, to over 60%.

We may accept the government figures cited above, however, though they may be underestimating over-all national budgetary dependency on the military, as an accurate gauge of the impact of all federal domestic expenditures, regardless of their source.

Let us now turn to the metropolitan area of St. Louis, our local region. What does our local share of the federal pie say about our community?

#### Metropolitan Federal Expenditures

Fiscal Year	Total Outlays	Defense Outlays	% of Total
1967	\$3,290,173,000	\$2,268,973,000	68.9 %
1968	2,553,787,000	1,494,609,000	58.5
1969	2,504,543,000	1,263,374,000	50.4
1970	2,312,708,000	1,077,516,000	46.6
1971	2,729,291,000	1,128,341,000	41.3
1972	3,658,186,000	1,978,704,000	54.1

If we limit our attention to the core of our community, St. Louis City and County, the influence of defense expenditures in our community becomes even more clear:

#### St. Louis City and County Federal Expenditures

Fiscal Year	Total Outlays	Defense Outlays	% of Total
1967	\$2,900,198,000	\$2,127,316,000	73.3 %
1968	2,074,928,000	1,290,869,000	62.2
1969	1,969,636,000	1,046,475,000	53.1
1970	1,831,455,000	899,758,000	49.1
1971	2,190,953,000	967,716,000	44.1
1972	3,065,367,000	1,805,116,000	58.8



206

A comparison of the percentage of national dependence on defense expenditures with the percentage of this metropolitan area's dependence may be useful:

Fiscal Year	National %	Local %	Net Difference
1967	34.0	68.9	+34.9 %
1968	33.9	58.5	+24.6
1969	31.6	50.4	+18.8
1970	30.3	46.6	+16.3
1971	28.4	41.3	+12.9
1972	28.4	54.1	+25.7

In some years, 1972 for example, nearly twice as much money in percentage terms is locally devoted to defense than is nationally. Clearly, in terms of where our federal dollars are going locally, while defense dependent firms and agencies in our community are reaping the benefits of the federal dollar, our urgent local needs go unmet. Ours is a defense dependent community whose resources are not being devoted to the needs of the community.

But where does all that defense money go locally? A comparison of the total defense dollars in this metropolitan area with the total prime defense contract awards to McDonnell-Douglas Corporation will reveal the direct impact of defense expenditures locally:

#### Metropolitan Defense Expenditures

Fiscal Year	Total Defense Outlays	McDonnell-Douglas Prime Contracts	% of Total
1967	\$2,268,973,000	\$2,111,600,000	93.1 %
1968	1,494,609,000	1,087,660,000	72.1
1969	1,263,374,000	1,031,752,000	81.6
1970	1,077,516,000	856,764,000	79.4
1971	1,128,341,000	891,394,000	79.8
1972	1,978,704,000	1,693,833,000	80.5

From the above table, it would be an understatement to say the direct impact of McDonnell-Douglas on defense expenditures locally is enormous. Economic impact, however, can be measured on three different levels: direct, indirect, and induced.

Direct impact is the initial purchase by the Department of Defense of goods and services from a seller, McDonnell-Douglas for example, through what is called a prime contract.

Indirect impact is the process by which the seller, McDonnell-Douglas, must necessarily purchase goods and services from other firms in order to complete a product. This relationship is manifest through what is known as a sub-contract. McDonnell-Douglas subcontracts with other firms between 40-50% of the total value of their prime contracts. It is estimated that in excess of 350 firms in this region at any one time hold subcontracts with McDonnell-Douglas. A fluctuating percentage of work is subcontracted out of this community, or is performed in Douglas plants on the west coast. In turn, however, other firms outside this community subcontract with local firms for goods or services. McDonnell-Douglas itself is a major subcontractor on a number of weapons programs. While such a process of subcontracting has the effect of spreading the impact of defense expenditures throughout the economic structure of our community, it remains fair to say that McDonnell-Douglas is the kingpin of local direct and indirect defense expenditure impact.

Induced impact is the income and jobs generated by the direct and indirect purchases mentioned above. For example, jobs in a supermarket created because a large segment of the customers who purchase items from the store pay for those items with a paycheck from McDonnell-Douglas. It is accepted that for an aerospace firm such as McDonnell-Douglas, 2.5 times as many jobs are generated for each job existing at McDonnell-Douglas. For example, the total work force at McDonnell-Douglas in this region is, at this time, approximately 31,000. Applying the multiplier of 2.5 to this figure and one arrives at a total of 77,500 jobs locally are directly or indirectly dependent on McDonnell-Douglas.

Let us now turn our attention directly to McDonnell-Douglas Corporation in order to see what projects have been undertaken by this firm on which so much of our community's economic health depends.

Although modest efforts at diversification into civilian markets have been undertaken in recent years, McDonnell-Douglas' major products from its local facilities are, and historically have been weapons systems.

Founded in 1939, McDonnell-Douglas was initially two separate firms, McDonnell Aircraft Corporation in St. Louis and Douglas Aircraft Corporation in California, whose origins can be traced to 1920. In 1967, McDonnell purchased Douglas, merging the two firms. McDonnell has produced several generations of successful military aircraft in its local facilities. Its first major contract was for development of the FH-1 Phantom in 1943. Following

onto this in the late 1940s and the early 1950s were the F2H Banshee, the F3H Demon, and the F-101 Voodoo.

In 1958, the famous McDonnell F-4 Phantom II entered military service. This single project was to form the backbone of McDonnell's production throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. Built initially as a Navy carrier-based fighter-bomber, through efforts by Senator Stuart Symington, the Air Force was persuaded to purchase its own versions of the F-4. Used extensively during the Vietnam War, to-date in excess of 4,400 F-4s have been produced. Production today remains at a high rate, with a scheduled delivery of 187 additional Phantoms during 1974. An uncertain percentage of current production is devoted to replacement of aircraft lost in the Vietnam War. Additionally, nearly 1,000 F-4s have been ordered by foreign nations, at a total cost to those nations of over \$4 billion, including Great Britain, Iran, Israel, South Korea, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Turkey, Australia, and New Zealand.

While Phantom production continues at a relatively high rate, the long term future of McDonnell-Douglas in St. Louis is dependent upon the production of the F-15 Eagle, the latest generation of advanced fighter aircraft. McDonnell was awarded the F-15 Eagle contract by the Air Force in 1969. The contract called for development of 749 aircraft at a total cost of \$7.8 billion. In 1974, 12 aircraft are scheduled for production. It is anticipated by McDonnell-Douglas that production of this plane will continue into the 1980s, with foreign sales of the plane eventually pushing deliveries of the Eagle to over 1,000. Already, the oil-rich nation of Iran has indicated an interest in purchasing up to 50 F-15 Eagles. If such a sale is agreed to in the near future, it would be ironic that foreign sales of the F-15 will have occurred before actual introduction of the plane into service in our own Air Force.

There has arisen, however, in recent years, indicators that there are problems in McDonnell-Douglas' future which are going to dramatically effect our community's economy because of this single firm's dominance of the community's economic base. Let us consider first the recent past.

It is customary that this community thinks of McDonnell-Douglas in terms of a company which builds the best aircraft in the world. It is assumed that this reputation will insure that a fair share of military aircraft contracts will come the way of McDonnell-Douglas. This is simply not the case.

In 1967, McDonnell-Douglas won the Department of Defense \$2.5 billion contract for development of a Manned Orbiting Laboratory.

In 1969, this contract was cancelled by the Air Force after expenditures of \$855,000,000. This cancelation, together with a decline in F-4 Phantom production at this time resulted in layoffs of over 17,000 workers at McDonnell between 1969 and 1971. The St. Louis economic growth rate has been sluggish ever since, never recovering from this experience of massive layoffs. This Manned Orbiting Laboratory contract was lodged in a section of McDonnell-Douglas called Astronautics Division. Since 1969, continual layoffs in this division have occurred. Some production work was transferred to the civilian NASA Skylab project but that has recently been completed. The Astronautics Division competed for the multi-billion dollar NASA Space Shuttle contract in 1972 but lost the competition. In the past year, over 1,000 workers have been laid off in this division alone, reducing employment to 2,500. An additional 500 layoffs are expected before the end of this year. At this time, the Astronautics Division has no major project to work on. A second Astronautics Division on the West Coast was recently phased out entirely. Without future contracts, contracts which to-date have not materialized, the remaining 2,500 workers in the local Astronautics Division remain in a state of limbo, not knowing what the future will bring.

An additional factor in the layoffs of 17,000 workers at McDonnell between 1969 and 1971 was McDonnell's failure to win a Navy follow-on contract to the F-4, the F-14 Tomcat. This project was an \$8.1 billion fighter contract in which fierce competition occurred. McDonnell-Douglas was the low bidder on the contract at the time of the competition, in 1968, but several days before the deadline for submission of bids McDonnell's chief competitor, Grumman Aircraft Corporation, "revised" its bid by reducing its cost (on paper) by \$500,000,000, which resulted in the contract being awarded to Grumman. Shortly after, Grumman stated to the Department of Defense that it could not build the specified number of aircraft unless it received an additional \$500,000,000. This project, lost by McDonnell because of political maneuvering, has been plagued with cost overruns ever since. Congress, reacting to escalating costs on the F-14 has cut production of the F-14 from 710 to 313. Burdened with cost overruns and a hostile Congress, Grumman's future as a major aerospace firm is in considerable doubt.

In 1969, McDonnell-Douglas entered into an agreement with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd. of Japan for production of 128 F-4 Phantoms in Japan. This agreement to produce the F-4 in Japan, as opposed to St. Louis where all other F-4 fighters have been built, resulted in additional layoffs of production personnel at McDonnell. The total loss of sales totalled in excess of \$600,000,000. Whereas workers in Japan obviously have benefited from this agreement, workers in St. Louis remain out of jobs.



Previous examples have made reference to events which occurred several years ago which can be seen today as the initial indicators that the long-term economic health of McDonnell was not as stable as might previously have been thought. Recent events show even more disturbing possibilities.

In February, 1973, James McDonnell, chairman of the board of McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, threatened to move 18,000 jobs out of McDonnell's St. Louis facilities and relocate them in Tulsa, Oklahoma, or on the West Coast, if a plan expanding Lambert field were approved. The plan was not approved. It seems reasonable to assert that James McDonnell does not consider St. Louis as essential for McDonnell-Douglas' economic future. The St. Louis community, however, does consider McDonnell-Douglas as essential.

In May, 1973, the Marine Corps decided, under intense political pressure, to purchase 50 Grumman F-14s instead of 138 McDonnell F-4Js, after having publicly committed themselves to the F-4Js. Total sales lost by McDonnell-Douglas are in excess of \$900,000,000. Is it economically sound to risk close to \$1 billion in sales on partisan political favoritism? Our community, through McDonnell-Douglas did, and lost.

In October, 1973, the House Armed Services Committee slashed appropriations for the F-15 by almost 50%, a total of nearly \$400,000,000. Through efforts by Senator Stuart Symington, these funds were restored in the 1974 budget. Who will be able to restore those funds after 1976, when Symington intends to retire?

Prior to March, 1974, fears about the future of the F-15 Eagle were not voiced in many quarters. Even though considerable problems had arisen in the engine development, it was felt these problems would work themselves out without great cost in time or money. The cost overruns that plagued Grumman and its F-14 would not occur on McDonnell's F-15. Because of overruns by Grumman on the F-14, the total number of orders were cut from 710 to 313, and Grumman has been forced to withstand losses on the plane's development that have placed Grumman's economic future in severe jeopardy. On March 18, 1974, however, the Department of Defense revealed a cost overrun on the F-15 of \$1.4 billion. It is not known what the effect of this development may be. It is safe to say that this overrun is one of the largest in history.

These examples point out the uncertainties in McDonnell's recent economic and political past and anticipated future. What we ask is: Should our community economically rely so heavily upon one firm which primarily produces one product subject to annual review by an increasingly hostile Congress?

In the preceding pages, the dominance of McDonnell-Douglas in the economic picture of the St. Louis metropolitan area has been pointed out. But what is its significance in the larger view of the area? The most important point is the degree to which the area has come to depend on a single corporation, and the extent to which this dependence is not actually recognized. Although recent years have seen a rash of reports begin to document economic stagnation and decay in the urban area, it would seem that many employment and job opportunities figures do not reflect fully the extent of the general decline. The biggest reason for this is the fact that McDonnell-Douglas' growth rate since World War II has masked the degree of slow and negative growth rates for the region as a manufacturing and production center. For example, in the years 1962-1971, the growth rate for manufacturing employment was 12.2% nationally, and only 6.5% locally.<sup>1</sup> In the recession period of 1969-1971, while the national figures for manufacturing fell 8.9% nationwide, they dropped by 12.5% here.<sup>2</sup> These figures are certainly not encouraging, and they become more alarming when viewed alongside the fact that the aircraft industry, which is essentially equivalent to McDonnell-Douglas here, accounted for over 40% of the total growth in manufacturing jobs in the decade 1959-1968.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the above figures on growth would be even more devastating without the presence of McDonnell-Douglas.

Today McDonnell-Douglas is the largest employer in the region, with approximately 32,000 employees. It has not been immune to the sluggish and recessive swings of the economy, and cuts in the defense budget. From a one-time high of about 43,000 employees in 1967<sup>4</sup>, McDonnell-Douglas has laid off nearly 17,000 during the severe periods of "recession" and rehired gradually to bring them to their present total. However, even now, lay-offs continue, though at a much slower rate. The impact of McDonnell-Douglas is obviously a great one. But as employment opportunities continue to decline in the metropolitan area, one is prompted to wonder what happened to St. Louis' other resources. For St. Louis certainly enjoyed economic diversity at one time. What is the present situation?

There can only be a sketchy presentation of these resources here. But perhaps it can serve as background for a more intensive study. There is the additional danger of falling into the easy-analysis trap. One of the area's better-known economists, Dr. Murray Wiedenbaum of Washington University, was quoted in the Post-Dispatch's Rk for Growth series as follows: "Anyone who says he has the answer to the problems of St. Louis doesn't understand the problem."<sup>5</sup> With that in mind, we can proceed slowly to try and outline the economic situation of the St. Louis area.

One of the most visible signs of economic decline is the abandonment of buildings--commercial, industrial and residential. Our concern is most directly with the first two. The city of St. Louis is especially plagued with this problem, as the trend has been to move westward--first to the suburbs, but more importantly out of the region entirely. In general, such patterns of emigration are not unique to St. Louis, but can be lumped under the title, "urban crisis." The reasons usually referred to for leaving include high crime rates and high insurance, a declining tax base and increasing costs for providing services, and high unemployment.<sup>6</sup> But the severity of the crisis here sets St. Louis apart. Part of the problem can be seen as a question of "growing up" too fast..

When St. Louis reigned as a production and distribution center, more than twenty years ago, it was largely due to the under-developed status of the South and Southwest. Today those regions are booming, and the availability of cheaper land and labor have provided incentive for companies formerly located here, or seeking settlements, to move southward.

But the exodus of firms is not only the result of changing factors outside the area. While it is difficult to get completely candid and precise answers from the people who are responsible for decisions regarding location of a firm, a number of reasons have emerged. St. Louis has a particularly negative image in labor and union contracts. Skyrocketing wages and some famous wildcat strikes have made companies especially wary of settling or staying here. Although these situations have improved in recent years, the image persists.

Some analysts have also pointed to the general conservatism of the banking institutions as a clue to the lack of development. They note that it is difficult to get outside backing for development if local financiers balk at their own community's economic prospects. Here, too, it would seem that local politicians have demonstrated a lack of leadership in studying the roots of the problems and initiating viable development and corrective programs. This is not to minimize the task, or lessen its enormity, but to recognize the absence of vigorous and positive action. Another persistently adverse situation is the well-documented lack of coordination of local governments. St. Louis City and County jealously guard respective "power." The circle of rivalry widens to the six other counties that along with St. Louis, compose the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area: St. Charles, Franklin and Jefferson Counties in Missouri; and St. Clair, Monroe, and Madison Counties in Illinois.<sup>7</sup>

Increased coordination of money, programs and authority is the tough, but necessary task ahead. Agencies such as the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council have been set up to cope with regional solutions, only to find themselves relatively powerless. And once labeled "ineffectual," the agency is hard-put to alter the image. The Regional Industrial Development Corporation has assumed a degree of leadership in the task of re-developing some of the burnt-out areas of the city, especially and the larger region. But it does not appear that people have bought the old, "United we stand; divided we fall" line of thought. This is best exemplified in the current, continuing dispute over an airport site. In some ways, the basic issues that need debating are still being obscured by rivalry that stems from the bi-state nature of this region.

Former areas of economic strength in St. Louis have been allowed to deteriorate. Trucking, once one of the areas's biggest industries, has suffered a general decline. Now there is a proposal that would extend the interstate directly from Chicago to Kansas City, thus by-passing St. Louis. This would have a devastating effect on this area's commerce.

Perhaps more alarming however, has been the negligence of the port facility. The Rx for Growth series documented the present situation well. While the past ten years have seen a continual drop in port traffic here in St. Louis, nearby ports have been increasing the volume and percentage of river traffic. The most notable example is Memphis, where over \$400 million dollars of federal money has been poured into the development of a first class port facility. This same pool of money was available to St. Louis, but no proposals were made for the funds. A report describing the situation and proposing remedies has recently been issued here, but one certainly must wonder why it has taken so long. Meanwhile, high labor costs, poor handling of cargo and inadequate facilities have driven away a large portion of river traffic.

The St. Louis region, and particularly the city, has come to depend in a dangerous way on the defense budget. Military agencies contribute more than \$300 million annually, with the Air Force accounting for one-half that payroll. The Military Airlift Command at Scott Air Force Base, the Defense Mapping Agency, AVSCOM (Army Aviation Systems Command), and DCASAR (Defense Contract Audit Agency) are some of the biggest reminders of the defense economy in the St. Louis area.



Recent years have witnessed a growing debate over the amounts of federal monies allotted to defense. There have been cuts in the budget, but none of them have indicated a radical turn-about in spending priorities. Perhaps this has served to bolster the protective and possessive attitude towards defense-related business here. But this point in our national and regional history cannot be served with complacency. The budget categories are being examined, and holding on to the economic bonanzas of post World War II is not the way to establish a solid economic base here.

There is also a question of what ought to be a priority. The social needs of the St. Louis region continue to worsen, and go unmet as budget allocations for such concerns are cut rather than expanded. (See attached chart.)<sup>9</sup>

Statistics, while they make for dry reading, can help to sharpen our focus. Following are some selected statistics on the city and county of St. Louis, as well as a few for the whole Standard Metropolitan Area (SMSA, to hasten the procedure a bit).

Between 1960 and 1970, the St. Louis SMSA's population increased over 12% to 2,363,017. In that time, the population of all the counties increased--St. Charles County by 75.5%--except the City of St. Louis, which decreased 17%. However, even the rate of increase for the area in the past decade (12%), is lower than the national average increase for metropolitan areas of 17%.

#### ST. LOUIS CITY

1. There are twice as many persons who are 65 or older as are 35-40 in the city.

2. 100,000 jobs have been lost in the city of St. Louis within the past three years. In poverty areas of the city, unemployment fluctuates between 10 and 12% (4.5% is total work force unemployed). The effects of that rate of unemployment are reflected in figures on poverty in St. Louis such as the following:

- 14.3% of all families live below the poverty level established by the Federal government
- 20% of all persons are below poverty level
- approximately 30% of children in the city are recipients of AFDC
- 40.6% of all families have an annual income below \$7,000.
- 20% of all poor in the city of St. Louis are over 65, and the city lacks 17,000 units of low-income housing
- 6.6% of all housing units lack some or all plumbing facilities
- 3.4% (or over 60,000) housing units have more than 1.51 persons per room

ESTIMATED EFFECT OF NIXON REFORMS ON MAJOR URBAN  
PROGRAMS IN THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS

FISCAL '73

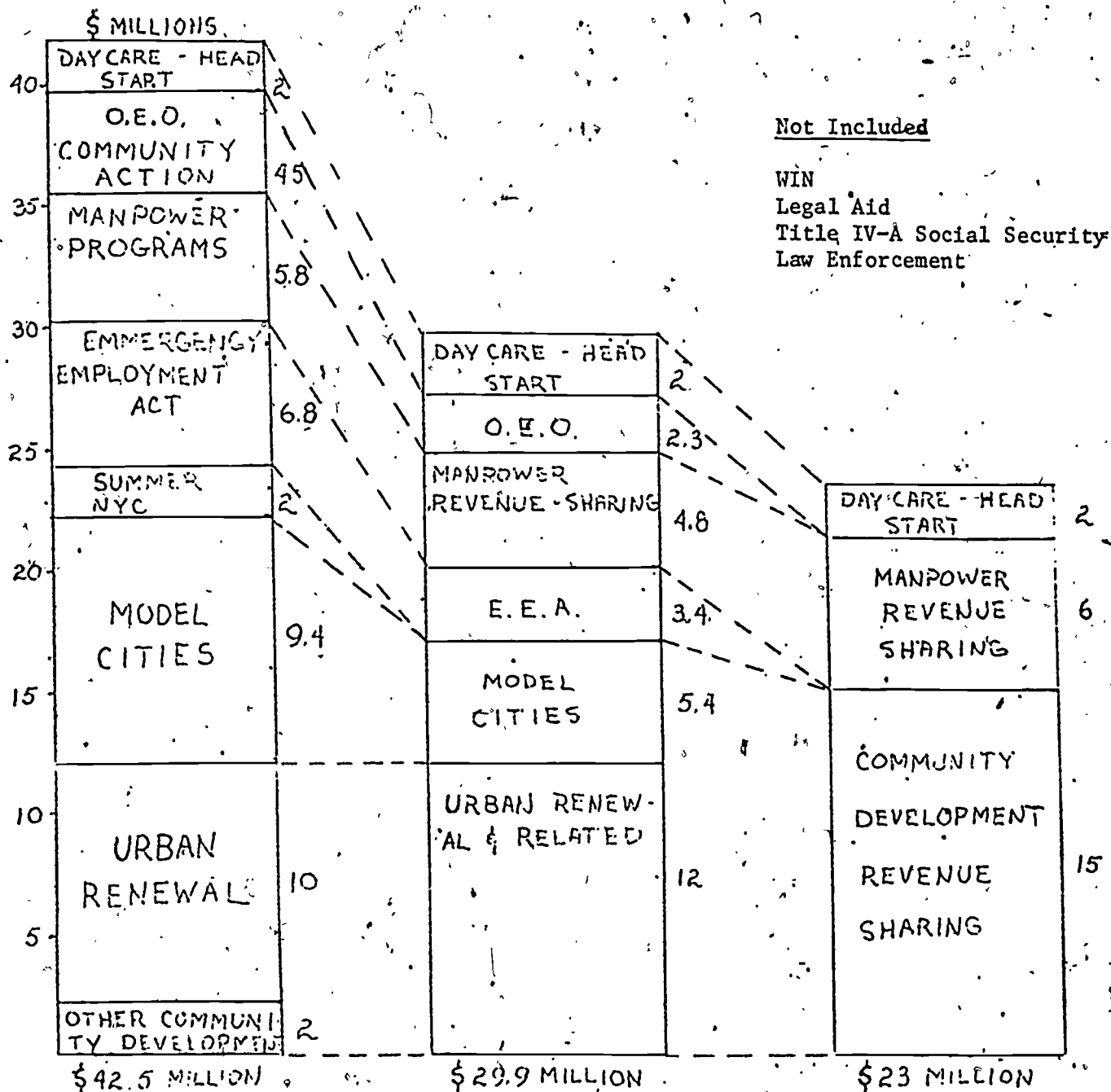
\$42,500,000

FISCAL '74

-\$29,900,000

FISCAL '75

\$23,000,000



216

ST. LOUIS COUNTY

- 3.6% of all families live below the poverty level established by the Federal government
- 5% of the total population is below poverty level
- approximately 2% of all children in the County receive AFDC
- 14.6% of all families have an annual income of below \$7,000
- there are less than 300 units of public housing in the County; only 100 of those are family; the remainder are for the elderly
- 1.7% of all housing units lack some or all plumbing facilities
- 1.1% of all housing units have more than 1.51 persons per room

The East-West Gateway Coordinating Council did a housing study that described a regional housing plan. The following totals represent their estimations of housing needs by county:

St. Louis City	Number of Standard Units Available	No. of Households	Need for Additional Standard Units
St. Louis City	179,238	315,435	36,197
St. Louis County	270,288	280,441	10,153
St. Charles County	23,403	25,918	2,515
Madison County	68,821	78,430	9,609
St. Clair County	73,351	86,326	12,975
Monroe County	4,551	5,756	1,205
Jefferson County	25,968	29,764	3,796
Franklin County	13,157	16,975	3,818
TOTAL REGION	658,777	739,045	80,268

As always, the question of funding arises. The Council's primary suggestion was to relegate some revenue sharing funds to this end. However, the revenue sharing pie is a small one, especially in comparison to the defense budget. But continued inadequate housing means that the blight of the city and counties spreads faster (this is most visible in the central city). When shall the priorities be re-ordered?

Other areas, such as health, education and transportation are experiencing the pinch of federal funds, and the non-existence of local ones. The quality of education, especially in the city, is at a dangerous low. Classes are crowded, schools are understaffed and ill-equipped, and violence has become commonplace in some areas. Now money alone will not solve some of these problems, but the people have got to decide if and when they would choose to put money into the.

system that is so crucial to the future health of the area. And does it have to be this way?

One question that emerges when studying the contrast of military/defense-related budgetary allotments and civilian/social allocation is the following: where is the kind of lobbying for social and industrial development that takes place on such a large scale for the military and defense sectors? There is simply no comparison of the numbers of people and amounts of money (much of it federal funds!) that are used to secure greater amounts or sustain present percentages of the budget for the military and their weaponry. The network is a delicate one, and very spread out in the bureaucracy. In contrast, there is no similar network in the other sectors. Cities, counties and hundreds of small special-interest groups do not have a mechanism that is comparable for making their cases heard to the people that hold the purse strings. And so programs and proposals for dealing with urban decay and poverty, or with industrial development, are set forth and dealt with in a piecemeal fashion. The efforts that are made can hardly be judged accurately by the "scattered" nature. That is one reason that revenue sharing was introduced. But as stated above, the pie is still quite small.

Urban affairs specialists have set forth redevelopment proposals with renewed vigor of late, and some of these might actually make it off the drawing boards. But there seems to be a vicious circle of sorts in the problem of funding. There are no structures maintained by local governments for obtaining grants and loans for programs. And yet many urban affairs people say that it is useless to try and press for such structures when there is no money. Looking at President Nixon's budgets, one would have to agree somewhat. But the circle will remain unbroken, unless there is a lot of pressure to continue to truly re-examine budget priorities. At the same time, efforts must be redoubled to obtain what money there is.

#### Footnotes

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 <u>Rx for Growth</u>   | 2 Idid.   |
| 3 <u>Urban Decay</u>   | 4 McDonnell-Douglas Annual Report, 1973, p. 24. |
| 5 <u>Rx for Growth</u>   | 6 <u>Rand Report</u>                            |
| 7 <u>Rand Report</u>   | 8 <u>Rx for Growth</u>                          |
| 9 Chart prepared by Dempster Holland, Center for Urban Programs, St. Louis University. |   |



No. of copies STUDIES Total Cost

CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, information and action papers, including bibliography of research and action groups, \$2.95

CHURCH INVESTMENTS, TECHNOLOGICAL WARFARE AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, an analysis of church investment in the top 60 defense contractors (published Jan. 1972), \$2.00

CHURCH INVESTMENTS, CORPORATIONS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, a discussion of five Southern Africa countries and corporations with operations there; listing of church investments, resources, and corporate challenges (available May 1973), \$3.50

INVESTORS' GUIDE TO MILITARY CONTRACTS, listing of corporations and contracts for antipersonnel, environmentally destructive and automated battlefield weapons and components (published October 1972), \$3.25

#### MONTHLY PUBLICATION

CORPORATE EXAMINER, a monthly publication examining actions and policies of major U.S. corporations in the areas of consumerism, environment, foreign investment, labor and minority policies, military production and corporate responsibility. Includes news of church and other institutional investor actions, publications of interest, and inserts targeting a specific company and/or issues each month. - SAMPLE COPIES AVAILABLE ON REQUEST (12 issues)

Church rate: single subscription.....\$10.00/year

organization (10 copies/mo.).....\$90.00/year

Non-church rate.....\$17.50/year

Church Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

#### CENTER PRELIMS-specific case studies

##### Corporations and Southern Africa

GULF CO.- PORTUGUESE ALLY IN ANGOLA (published December 1972), \$1.00

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ITT- APARTHEID and BUSINESS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (published March 1972), \$1.00

GENERAL MOTORS- APARTHEID and BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA (pub. May 1972), \$1.00

RHODESIAN CHROME: A PROFILE OF UNION CARBIDE AND FOOTE MINERAL

(pub. May 1972), \$1.00

TSUBOI MINING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (AMERICAN METAL CLIMAX AND NEWMONT

MINING (available April 1973), \$1.00

IBM IN SOUTH AFRICA (pub. Sept. 1972), \$1.00

FORD IN SOUTH AFRICA (pub. March 1973), \$1.00

##### Corporations and Military Contracts

SPERRY RAND- MILITARY BUSINESS AND TECHNOLOGICAL WARFARE (pub. April 1972), \$1.00

ERIC " " " " " (pub. March 1972), \$1.00

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CONTROL DATA " " " " " (pub. March 1972), \$1.00

GENERAL ELECTRIC " " " " " (pub. March 1972), \$1.00

## THE REALITIES OF WAR

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

1. To understand a little more the realities of war. We see these realities every day but we do not comprehend them.

2. To explore that element of the human condition which is in each of us and which some persons yield themselves over to, becoming torturers, terrorists, war-makers.

3. To consider the following: What are we to tell our youngest students when they ask us why war exists? One impulse drives us to shield them from knowledge of war. We are ashamed that adults have found this way of life so comfortable. We never want children to be comfortable with war. Yet children are exposed to war all the time, in the toys they use and on television. War movies still haunt the screen, and the news broadcasts also depict daily mini-dramas in Northern Ireland, Indochina, and the Middle East (not to mention terrorism and other violent acts). Once children have seen these things, how can we fail to help them to understand them? How can we fail to come to better grips ourselves with the realities of war?

## CONTENT, AN ESSAY:

The authors of this manual participated in an intense discussion about what to include here. In the first edition we said that the realities of war are best presented by audio-visual presentations, and we listed several. However, the question is: do U.S. residents need to see any more instances of the realities of war? We see many horrors and atrocities in movies and on the daily news. Some of us are affected intensely by these and some of us are inured to them. We have seen so much in the cool medium that our emotions turn off. (Note the electronic metaphor.) What happens on television or on film is somewhat distressing, perhaps, but it isn't real. On the other hand, those who are affected intensely vomit and cry and despair. For them things are so terrible that there is no hope.

We do not want to engender despair; nor do we want to prescribe more film inoculations that build up resistance to the horrors of war rather than help us understand them. But we do want to say to our readers that war is a terrible reality that right now is killing and maiming people like us. We want to be sure no one out there thinks war is romantic or that being a soldier is a healthy initiation to adulthood.

After lengthy discussion we have decided not to recommend any audio-visuals, whose primary purpose is to shock viewers into realization of the horrors of war. There are many such fine films. They are listed in Lucy Dougall's The War/Peace Film Guide (World Without War Publications, 1973, \$1.50). (The teacher's task is to sensitize students to what they already know, but in rare cases it may be appropriate to bring one more film into the class-

room to make the point that war is horrible.)

We recommend instead that in a reassuring classroom atmosphere you recall with your students the atrocities you all have seen recently in the media. Talk about them slowly, describing what happened and how you all felt as viewers. Muse aloud about how you can be excited in the retelling and be drawn into the game of "can you top this."

Role play some scenes and include the cameraperson and TV viewers in those scenes. In Medium Cool (the film about the cameramen at the 1968 Democratic convention) some demonstrators who are being beaten by police cry out to the CBS staff, "Join us, join us." But the men just keep on taking pictures. Are the mass media destroying our sensibilities? Robert Frost says yes in his poem, "Out, Out," about the reality of a single young boy's death. Frost wrote the poem after he read about the death in a little Vermont newspaper. His last line is "and they, since they/Were not the one dead, turned to their affairs." Is that line a true description of our behavior? What does it mean to us to know that our tax money pays for bombs and guns and ammunition and the salaries of men who drop those bombs and shoot those guns?

The impact of the media on us is psychological. However, the same electronic impulses that give us television also give us the pushbutton war which is conducted far away from the scenes of horror. War makers need never see the havoc they have wrought. How does the knowledge that the President just has to push a button affect our understanding of war?

And if we do understand, for a moment, the realities of war, if we break through the electronic barrier, how can we, in that same moment, keep our sanity? First we must look deep within ourselves and see that in each of us is the same potentiality for cruelty and hate that we see in action every day. Perhaps we shut off our compassion because we are afraid of these emotions. The paradox is that if we refuse to accept these feelings as our own, then they will grow strong. Tolstoy's War and Peace and John Hersey's The Wall are fine books for helping us understand that every person has good and evil within her. Teachers might do well to present the unit on the realities of war in conjunction with a literature class to help the students understand that wars are made by human beings, that each of us is capable of making war.

Also, Erving Goffman's Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Aldine, 1961) sheds some light on how persons learn to reject and lose touch with many of their own feelings. He says that hospitals, the army, prison, boarding school all dehumanize persons and make them dependent on a common standard determined by the

leader. What institutions are we members of that try to determine our lives for us in lesser ways? Can these institutions (like the school) blind us to the realities of war? (See THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL, pp. 175 f.)

Understanding that each human being is capable of the whole gamut of human emotion and experience provides the antidote to despair because we know war is not inevitable and that human beings can learn to be free of the bondage of hate and cruelty.

#### METHODOLOGY

##### 1. Discussion questions:

a. What weapons do we now have available? Are any weapons acceptable? What are the limits to the violence we can allow ourselves to use? Are wars different now from cannonball days?

b. Talk about the difference between hot war and cold war. Can the students think of examples of "cold war" in their own lives? Have those situations ever led to "hot" conflict? (See PEACE IS POSSIBLE, pp. 16-18 on role plays)

##### 2. Games

a. "The Reds and the Greens" is described on pp. 125-126.

b. "Coop Squares" is described in PEACE IS POSSIBLE, p. 13.

c. Disarmament: a paper and pencil game. Set up your paper, as below. Don't let anybody else see it

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

11111 11111 11111 11111

#### ARMAMENTS

There are twenty moves in the game. At each move a player may move one natural resource to the arms pile or one arm back to the natural resources. (Just put a line through the natural resource tally to indicate you moved it.) A player may pass and make no move. A player may not shift more than one tally during a game move.

The game director calls out "Move one" and players move or pass. "Move two", and so on. Any player who has three arms may declare war on any other player (of course this cannot happen until the director has called move three.) The winner of the war is the person who has the most arms. She gains a natural resource while the loser loses a natural resource. However, both of the belligerents lose all their arms. They are wiped out and cannot be replaced. In case of a tie, if both nations have the same number of arms, both of them lose all their arms plus one natural resource. (What is lost does not go to anyone else. It is just "x"ed off.) At the end of the game, the winner is the person(s) who has the most natural resources. Arms don't count in figuring the winner.

This is a very simple game. I've been amazed at how many high school students enjoy it and what innovation they bring

to it--negotiation alliances, one person disarming everybody for three moves by declaring war on the entire body (in that case I ruled that the war declarer still lost only all his arms and one natural resource while everybody else also lost all their arms and each gained only one twenty-fifth of a natural resource) and one small alliance on me because they didn't like the way I made judgments. Since I had no arms or natural resources, they demanded my role as game director. I gave it to them and while they were deciding what to do, the whole rest of the group allied against them and forced a disarmament treaty.

The point of the game is just that you can't win by making war.

##### d. The Road Game

Divide a very large piece of heavy paper (at least 6 square feet) into four quadrants: red, green, yellow, and blue. Put a pot of tempera paint in each quadrant and tie a paint brush to a yard stick to go with each pot of paint.

Divide the class into four groups. Give them one minute to choose an engineer and a negotiator. After one minute, assign them to quadrants and give each engineer a brush.

The object of the game is to build as many roads as possible outside one's quadrant and crossing other people's roads. Each road counts for one point and each crossing counts for one point. The team with the most points wins.

However, each team must have permission of the home team to build a road in their quadrant and permission from the road-builders to cross a road. And every team must make all its decisions about whom to give permission to by consensus.

(The director ends the game at her discretion, hopefully before any paint gets thrown.)

Then the director says: Now you will decide the winner by majority vote.

Again the director decides when to end discussion of who the winner is and begin analysis. Remember to spend as much time debriefing as you did playing.

There are several kinds of analysis. The first is to consider that the game was developed by some art students to help young children use color and the whole page. How does the paper look? Does it have some artistic points? Is it an example of free expression?

Second, how was the negotiation process like that of several nations? Would a U.N. have helped? Did nations break agreements? Were some agreements unclear? Were there some evidences of nationalism? How did the negotiators feel? What strategies worked?

Third, how did the group behave? Who withdrew from the game? Who got intensely involved? Did negotiators ignore their groups? How about engineers? Did any

groups really follow the consensus model? Some members will be frustrated. Give them a chance to talk about why.

Fourth, what were the difficulties in choosing a winner?

Note: in playing any simulation, be sure during the debriefing that people shed their game roles. Unless those roles are thrown off, say by moving to sit next to opposition members or by discussing the game as an art project, role antagonisms will cloud the analysis.

#### e. "World Without War Game"

This game is designed to acquaint a group of 30-40 people with the dangers of war and to motivate and enable them to work constructively for a world without war. It endeavors to do this by imparting a maximum amount of information about the problem of war in a minimum of time, by creating a community of persons committed to work together, and by engaging participants at many levels of awareness and commitment. It involves a flexibility structured weekend experience for high school students through adults. Available through the World Without War Council and can be borrowed in St. Louis from our Institute.

### 3. Audio-visuals

#### a. "Automated Air War"

A 30 minute film strip and text (with record) on the air war in Indochina, the use of anti-personnel weapons, and involvement of corporations in the war effort. Excellent for raising questions on the moral responsibilities of corporations and our own individual responsibility to say "no" at certain points. Produced by the National Association of Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC), 1970.

#### b. "Guns or Butter"

Produced by SANE, this slide show and tape cassette shows how wasteful our military economy is. It is a clear, vivid presentation of how much of our money goes to military expenditures. The only difficulty is that a hidden assumption seems to be that what we need is a lean, strong military. Nonetheless, the data compiled is impressive, useful, and accurate.

#### c. "Chromophobia"

11 minutes, animation whimsy of a war on color.

#### d. "Why Man Creates"

48 minutes, history of human progress, with an optimistic look into the future. All ages can profit from this.

#### e. "The Hat"

18 minutes, a charming animation of two soldiers on different sides of the strategic boundary; good for all ages.

### 4. Case studies

Have your students develop a case study on

one of the following: the Irish Republican Army, terrorists, the Palestinians, any group of former prisoners of war. Emphasize how the group members feel as well as how their supporters and antagonists feel. For example: a television network report on wives of POWs who visited Hanoi to ask for their husband's release tells how surprised they were to learn the North Vietnamese viewed those POWs as criminals.

### 5. Books and other printed materials

a. Nesbitt, Teaching about War and War Prevention, Part IV, ch. 1 ("Using History"), discusses how to use history to convey the changing nature of war.

b. To Be a Just Man (4 module curriculum developed by the Office on World Justice and Peace, Milwaukee, Wisc.), module #1, presents the situation of a Greek military leader conscientiously opposed to a current war. Good suggestions for discussion and other methodological tools.

c. Learning Peace for 7-12 students and Building Blocks for Peace for K-3 students available from the Jane Addams Peace Association, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

d. Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans (1st Casualty Press, Brooklyn, New York).

e. "The Image of the Enemy" by Jerome Frank in Sanity and Survival, (Vintage, 1968).

f. Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," in Let Us Examine our Attitudes Toward Peace, (World Law Fund, 1969).

g. Childhood Education, February 1973, an issue entirely devoted to teaching about war and war prevention.

h. Workbook to End War (National Peace Literature Service of the AFSC and the AFSC Mid-Atlantic Region) is a collection of projects for adult and Sunday school groups. Pp. 40-49 deal with programs for young children but the whole book offers a vast array of ideas.

i. Violence Against Children, Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, Volume II, no. 3, Fall 1973 deals chiefly with the effects of violence on children, from parental child abuse to corporal punishment in schools to television accounts of war. It is a remarkable collection of documents.



## CAUSES OF WAR

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

The problem of war is an overriding one in a consideration of how to educate people to build a world of peace and justice. Obviously, if we fail to come to grips with why we have wars and what we can do to prevent them, solutions to all other problems would not be effective in the long run.

This section is aimed at an understanding of some of the primary causes of war, especially that of nationalism. Other people have done a much more extensive study of war for teachers and have put together excellent materials, so we do not want to duplicate their work. Rather, we suggest that you purchase copies of William Nesbitt, Teaching About War and War Prevention (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1972); Grace Abrams and Franz Schmidt, Learning Peace (Jane Addams Peace Association, 1972), and for K-6 students the same two authors have done Peace Is in Our Hands, also from the Jane Addams Peace Association.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

## A. Introductory Section

Find out where the students are in their thinking about war and why war occurs. Perhaps brainstorm on their concepts of war and on the causes of war. Another angle might be to have the students brainstorm from this perspective--"If you were a person in power (e.g., a member of Congress), what factors would influence you to make you want to declare war? Would the reasons be different for different countries?" Perhaps this could be done in written form, followed by small group discussions. Consult The Limits of War (AEP Pamphlet), pp. 51-57 ("A War for Tomorrow") for a scenario students might be able to put themselves into. See value classification exercise in our unit on PEACE IS POSSIBLE, p. 11-12. See also Part I of Learning Peace, for ways in which to help students assess their own attitudes on peace and war.

B. The causes of war (See Nesbitt for detailed treatment of each of these causes)

1. Is the human person the cause?

## a. Concept

Many people believe that war is more or less inevitable. Part of such a conviction is generally based on a certain view of human nature. War is inevitable, in this view, because the human person is violently aggressive by nature. We are wasting our time in peace education!

There are three major theories on human aggression. The instinctual theory (Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative, 1966; Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression, 1969) traces human aggression to certain instincts, territorial or aggressive. It views violent aggression as inevitable and seeks less destructive channels for this aggression as the only alternative. Quite popular in recent years--possibly because

it offers an excuse for not trying to eliminate violent aggression--the instinctual theory is really based on a study, more or less limited, of certain animal behavior. And it makes the largely unsubstantiated assumption that once animal behavior is explained then human behavior is also explained.

The second theory of aggression sees aggression integrally related to frustration. When a person's actions or goals are frustrated, aggression follows or is repressed only to come out in some other way or time. The third theory states that aggression is largely a matter of social learning. Some peoples or societies are quite non-aggressive in a violent sense, or others quite violently aggressive. The difference? Examine the society or culture, its values, what kinds of behaviors it reinforces (rewards), and you will find the more fundamental explanation for violent aggression.

Ashley Montagu's volume, Man and Aggression, 1968, is perhaps the best explanation of this third perspective and refutation of the instinctual theory.

## b. Activities

(1) "Man Against Man: A Study on Conflict and Aggression," a 35-minute slide/cassette presentation (with teachers' guide), produced by the Center for Humanities, is the best audio-visual presentation on the social learning basis of violence. The teachers' guide raises the essential questions about the links between violence in our own society and the kinds of things we are exposed to on television, in movies, in sports. Excellent for English and art teachers, as well as social studies teachers, "Man Against Man" examines closely the "frontier ethic" that still seems to permeate our culture. Because of its appealing treatment of sports, it is especially attractive to senior high school boys.

(2) William Golding's Lord of the Flies offers a somewhat different analysis of the basis of violence (more instinctual) and thus provides a stimulating contrast to "Man Against Man".

(3) Another way to check the thesis of "Man Against Man"--that violent aggression is largely a product of social learning--is to have the students list their 10 favorite television shows and the 10 most popular shows in general. Then have them examine how much violence is involved in each show. Does this say anything about our culture? Do you think these shows have any effect on our own or society's behavior?

(4) Another way to check "Man Against Man" is to have the students rank the following sports according to each of four categories. The fourth category asks the question whether the particular sport is a way of channeling human aggression into constructive alternatives or a way of rein-

forcing, planning, rewarding, encouraging further, violent aggression.

My U.S. Most Channel or  
Favorite Favorite Violent Reinforcer

Professional  
Hockey

Swimming

Track &  
Field

Football

Baseball

Gymnastics

Soccer

Tennis

Roller-  
derby

Boxing

Basketball

Bull-  
fighting

Figure  
Skating

Amateur  
Wrestling

Rank from 1 to 14; 1 means the most, 14 the least. In column 4, write "C" for channel and "R" for reinforcer. Have them analyze their answers and ask whether they can draw any conclusions from their individual answers. Compute individual responses and analyze the composite in the same way.

(5) Have the students play checkers two different ways, the normal competitive version and the cooperative version.

In the cooperative version, the two players aim to change the black checkers and red checkers to opposite sides of the board at the same time. The game follows the usual checkers rules, except that there is no jumping or moving backwards. The game is won if the checkers are changed to opposite sides of the board at the same time. Ask the students which version they enjoyed more and why. If you want to develop this further, you might alternate days of the week--one day competitive games, the other day cooperative games. Do the results provide any insights into identifying cultural values and/or into the question of the social learning basis of violent aggression? See Dr. Theodore Lentz, "Cooperative Gaming Manual," pp. 30-14, for numerous other cooperative games.

(6) Next, it is vital that students examine other cultures to see if there are differences in the games, entertainment, art, literature, etc., and any corresponding difference in the amount and types of violent aggression. One interesting film available at many public libraries is Nomads of the Jungle, a 25-minute study of a family in Malaysia. The Hopi Indians (Arizona) and the Semai (see Robert Dentan, The Semai: A Non-violent People of Malaya, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968) are two pos-

sible groups to study. Others include such cultures as the Zuni (New Mexico), the Eskimo, the Ifugao, the Kwakiutl, and the Dobi. How do these peoples resolve their conflicts? Examine family life, the means of punishment, the aesthetic values, competition and cooperation, education and recreation, for each of these peoples and see whether there are any links between these factors and the ways in which they resolve their conflicts. Consult READ Magazine (AEP), December 15, 1969, for one helpful source. See Learning Peace, p.4, for more on this activities.

(7) Peace research has uncovered at least four cultural assumptions that encourage the belief that war is inevitable:

(a) war is an acceptable means of resolving conflicts;

(b) one's own nation has absolute national sovereignty;

(c) armed strength is equivalent to determination and courage; and

(d) a chosen "out-group" is inferior, untrustworthy and associated with other negative characteristics. Do any of the Activities above (#1-#5) reveal that one or more of these assumptions are characteristic of our own society? If so, how are they manifested? Are the opposites discouraged in our society (e.g., that war is not an acceptable means of resolving conflicts)? If so, how? What about in other cultures (those listed in Activity #6 and others)?

## 2. Psychological factors

Selective perception, displacement, remote killing--these are some of the psychological factors in making war less unlikely. See unit on THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL. See also "Ethnocentrism" activities in MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING, pp. 155-56.

## 3. The military system and the arms race

See units on THE REALITIES OF WAR for a description of "Guns or Butter" (p. 221), an excellent slide/tape presentation on the realities of defense spending in the U.S. and the consequences for society of such spending; for a description of the simulation game "Disarmament" (p. 220), which helps student understand the dynamics of the arms race. See below, "Deterrence" for an analysis of how weapons lead to war. See also the whole unit on THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX.

## 4. Economic causes of war

For young children, as well as older ones, see the "Maldistribution Simulation," pp. 121-24, in which the resources of the world are divided among the class according to the actual distribution patterns in the world. The whole question of the shortage (or better, maldistribution) of resources is crucial, and

this simulation helps students appreciate the relationship between poverty/exploitation and war.

For economic imperialism as a cause of war, see the film "An Invited U.S.?", which is described on p.104. Also on this topic, see the selections from Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X in CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, pp.25.

See unit on JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY for an economic analysis.

For the question of a desire for territory as a cause of war, see the "Road Race" described in the THE REALITIES OF WAR, pp.220-221.

## 2. Nationalism as a cause of war

### a. Concept

The biggest obstacle to the implementation of global approaches to building a world without war is nationalism. On a national level, it takes the form of sovereignty. National governments, like any other bureaucracies, are extremely reluctant to give up any of their power to some super-national institution. Unfortunately, or fortunately, individual nations are relatively powerless to solve the major problems confronting them--the global problems of poverty, pollution, food and energy shortages, war. Thus, "sovereignty," understood as effective power, is being eroded daily by the global nature of much of reality. Hopefully, nations are beginning to recognize this, and are being forced toward a global community.

Nationalism on a personal level takes the form of patriotism. In itself, patriotism is not bad, but when it becomes exclusive, just as when sovereignty becomes excessive, the "life-boat ethic" (see p.146) develops. At this point, nationalism is not only an obstacle to global solutions, it also becomes part of the problem. Nationalism is thus often a cause of war.

### b. Activities

(1) With students, and most other people as well, it is best to examine nationalism first as it relates to them, in its personal form--patriotism. You might introduce this section by playing the record "The Americans" by Byron MacGregor, and then discuss the feelings it arouses, the "facts" that are used, the accuracy of the statements, what is left out, etc. Younger students might be interested in working in small groups to formulate a letter to MacGregor in response to his song. Some of the selections from John Wayne's album "America: How I Love Her" (RCA, 1972) might be helpful in the same regard. See the "Catonsville Nine" Action (CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE unit) for an alternate view.

(2) The Bi-Centennial celebration of the U.S. is an excellent opportunity to focus on "the promise of America." Such a focus implies a creative understanding of the term "patriotism." This is a patriotism that recognizes

the difference between the ideals and practices of one's country and that it is committed to working hard to bring national priorities, policies and practices closer to the ideal, and our national ideal is one of all persons being created equal and endowed with certain inalienable human rights and the ideal of a nation that is truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people." (See unit on CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM for an elaboration of this view. What do we stand for, how have we fallen short, what can we do about it--these are essential questions to examine thoroughly. If we as a nation want to keep shouting "we're number 1", then we must ask ourselves what do we want to be "number 1" in. You might ask the students to make two lists, one of the areas in which they feel we as a nation are "number 1", and the other list of the areas in which they would like our nation to be "number 1". Then ask them to compare the two lists. If the two are different in some aspects, then ask them individually or in a group, to select one or more of the items where practice does not measure up to desire or ideal, and brainstorm what would have to be done to become "number 1" in that item and whether there is anything students can do to make the "promise of America" the "reality of America." Finally, you might want to discuss whether being "number 1" is really important to them at all. If so, why. If not, why not.

(3) Patriotism and nationalism relate to war because people of one nation tend to look at another nation through very narrow eyes and are willing to believe the worst about "foreigners" and outsiders. Nationalism reinforced by propaganda can easily convert "foreigners" into "enemies" and then into sub-human monsters. "Gooks" is only the most recent example. Nesbitt's Teaching About War and War Prevention offers a number of good exercises to help students see how their view of reality is influenced by their national perspective. For one, he mentions a frequently used experiment in which U.S. middle grade students are shown a picture of a road in the Soviet Union lined with trees and then are asked why the trees are there. Such answers as "so the people won't see what's going on beyond the road" are quite different from the answers given when the students are shown the same picture but told it is a road in the United States.

(4) The experience of #3 points out one of the reasons why multicultural education is so important for a world without war. An interesting approach to this subject is taken in As Others See Us: International Views of American History (Houghton-Mifflin, 1969). The book selects some major events in U.S. history as described in secondary school texts of other countries. Some friendly to the U.S. and others not. Building on this approach, have the students read Atlas Magazine, a monthly news magazine translating lead articles from foreign newspapers and magazines. Have them compare the stands taken in Atlas with those in the students' daily newspapers, on major world and U.S. events.

## c. Case studies

Specific cases would be valuable for students to see how nationalism, national perspectives, and national loyalties influence war decisions.

(1) Nesbitt gives an excellent description of a multi-media package entitled "Confrontation: The Cuban Missile Crisis," available for classroom use (see pp. 41-43).

(2) An in-depth study of the Spanish-American War provides some interesting insights into nationalistic feelings and the influence of the press and interest groups on the decision-makers.

(3) The Nationalization of the Suez Canal Co., 1956: A Case Study in Analyzing News Accounts (available from the Foreign Policy Association, \$2.50 for a classroom kit) analyzes how national ideologies influence news accounts. Described in Nesbitt, p. 51.

1. A consideration of nationalism as a cause for war provides a good background for a study of the individual's relation to the war system. For further development of this idea, see units on THE MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL, WAR AND MILITARY SERVICE, and parts of LIVING PEACE AND JUSTICE (especially pp. 341-43). See issues of Intercom entitled "Conscience and War" and "The Human Person and the War System". See also the AEP pamphlet, "The Limits of War."

3. Propaganda--see unit on PROPAGANDA and ADVERTISING.

## OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Teaching about War and Its Control, published by the State Education Department and the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, Albany, NY 12224, is an excellent bibliographical source.

Dealing with Aggressive Behavior: Teacher's Manual, prepared by the Lakewood City Public School System, the Educational Research Council of America, and the State of Ohio Department of Education (write to Educational Research Council of America, Rockefeller Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44113), is an excellent curriculum for middle school and junior high dealing with violence.

Richard J. Barnet, Roots of War (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973), is a classic study of the persons and institutions behind U.S. foreign policy.

"Essay on War" (available at most public libraries) is a good 20-minute presentation on film of the basic causes of war, as well as of the emotions of war.

Bibliographies in units referred to in this unit should be examined.

Multi-media kit on nationalism is available through the Center for Teaching International Relations, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Colorado 80210.

The New York State Department of Education has published 3 hundred-or-so page booklets on Human Nature and War, The July, 1914 Crisis: A Case Study in Misperception and Escalation, and The Alpha Crisis Game, Origins of

World War I. The last is an extended role-play for up to 29 persons over 3 class periods and ends when 1) there is a stalemate, 2) the crisis has been resolved, or 3) war has broken out between 2 or more major powers. The role-play, and the case study were in part inspired by the political scientist Robert North: "The six weeks immediately following the assassination of Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand offer an especially useful setting for examining the behavior of states in crisis, the process of international conflict, and the spiralling of a limited war into a general war. Deeply embedded in the archival data lies something that approaches a prototype of international crisis, against which more contemporary crises can be measured with profit." Finally, Human Nature and War raises the question of whether war is natural and inevitable. These materials are designed for senior high school. Write the State Department of Education, Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, Albany, NY 12210. I don't have a price, but I would guess the 3 books total less than \$6.00.

War and War Prevention (see p. 232).



## ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

In a study of peace and justice, it is certainly as important to consider the alternatives to war as a means of settling conflict as it is to consider the causes and nature of war. Otherwise, one finds herself with the position that "war is hell, but there is no way to avoid it."

This unit will investigate some realistic alternatives, some existent and others in the planning stages: arms control/disarmament, other first steps, the United Nations, global citizenship and transnational networks, world law.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

## I. Introduction

Some kind of technique to measure the attitudes of the students toward the inevitability of war and the feasibility of international cooperation, organization, law would be good. For example, have students rate themselves (from strongly agree to strongly disagree) on the following questions:

--most nations will take advantage of other nations if there is an opportunity to do so;

--the issue of life or death has less meaning for people in underdeveloped countries than it does for Americans;

--large problems, such as international control of nuclear energy, cannot be handled with treaties;

--the U.S. should not be so interested in pursuing a policy of limiting the arms race, but rather should be sure of being on a par with Russia and not letting Russia get more weapons than we have;

--certain kinds of international conflict inevitably lead to war, and no diplomatic solution is possible;

--although the original 13 colonies in N. America formed a unified government, the sovereign states of the world, the U.S. included, never need organize that sort of government to maintain order.

Perhaps these same statements could be given to the students at the end of their study of alternatives to war, to see if changes occurred.

## II. Specific Alternatives

A. Unilateral Initiatives (sometimes called "GRIT")

## 1. Concept

Such an approach might be contained in what has been called the American Initiatives Strategy, and we offer it for your consideration. This approach looks to the United States to take a leadership role in reversing the arms race and initiating a "peace race." The arms race is fur-

thered by specific actions taken (or perceived to be taken) by one of the "runners"--the development of a new weapon or the increase in the number of weapons, soldiers, etc.; a reciprocal action then follows from other participants. The American Initiatives Strategy reverses the arms race process. In it, the United States government would announce specific unilateral steps which would encourage reciprocal actions by other nations and create a climate in which further steps can be taken. The initial steps would be, in themselves, "low risk" actions but would serve to initiate a movement counter to the arms race. Some examples:

a. The U.S. could announce that it is ceasing the development of one new weapons system, and it will discontinue another if there is a corresponding response from the Soviet Union.

b. The U.S. could determine to cut 5% from its military budget, the money to be used for agricultural development among the poorer nations; a further 5% would be cut the next year if there is a similar response from other developed nations (including the Soviet Union and China) and from oil-producing nations.

Such initiative actions are not unusual and have had positive effects.

In 1963, President Kennedy announced a unilateral halt to nuclear testing in the atmosphere and declared that we would not resume as long as other nations refrained from such tests. The announcement triggered strong international pressures, and the Soviet Union soon announced a similar halt. The Limited Test Ban Treaty resulted.

But what is needed is not isolated actions, no matter how beneficial, but a carefully planned policy which clearly sets a goal of reversing the arms race and of moving toward universal and complete disarmament. As such a strategy gains momentum, other elements necessary for peace and a disarmed world (e.g. social and economic development, a system of world law, and international institutions to mediate and resolve conflicts) could be built in similar fashion. (Planning could also be done to facilitate the conversion from a military-oriented economy in our country and others.)

## 2. Activities

Students should be able to get a handle on this proposed solution by examining their own conflicts, how they escalate, and how they can be de-escalated. See unit on CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

## B. Arms Control and Disarmament.

A useful beginning tool is an exercise in which students have to write arguments pro and con for the following arms policy suggestions: (1) continue the arms race; (2) pursue a policy of nuclear arms limitation; (3) establish a world-wide disarmament system with international law; (4) improve the arms machinery.

Students will be interested in doing research and presenting a paper before the high school or college hearing on a proposed new weapons system. We would suggest using the B-1 Bomber issue, since it would be the most expensive weapon system ever. If it gets full funding--\$42 billion in the current (1976) estimate, write and do a detailed analysis of the issue, including its impact

giving the arguments pro and con. For other proposed weapons systems, consult the Center for Defense Information and their excellent series, The Defense Monitor, which comes monthly. The May, 1974 issue analyzed a number of new systems that are being paid for in their preliminary stages and what their projected costs will be.

Finally, since so much misinformation and propaganda is used by the Department of Defense, in speaking of the need to keep producing more and bigger weapon systems, based on a supposed falling behind the Russians, we have also enclosed the following information from the Center for Defense Information, which we reprint with their permission:

## C. What About Deterrence?

## 1. Concept

U.S. national security and the survival of the human race today dependent upon a system of deterrence, the so-called "balance of terror" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Each can assure the destruction of the other. Thus, both sides (and other nations as well) are deterred from launching a nuclear war. But serious questions need to be asked of deterrence. Just how secure are we and do more weapons make us more secure? Does deterrence actually increase, rather than decrease, the likelihood of war? If so, is there an alternative?

More weapons do not seem to make us more secure. Deterrence easily leads to mistrust and emotional tension. Mistrust and tension impede rational calculation and can lead to more weapons which leads to more mistrust and more "deterrence"--an upward spiral. More and more weapons, then, seem to make us less secure.\*\* Between 1945 and 1975, the U.S. spent about \$1.5 trillion on the military, \$100 billion in FY 1976 alone. By 1975, the U.S. could destroy every Soviet city 36 times. Yet each year the military budget continues to climb. If \$1.5 trillion cannot buy security, how much can? Actually, many weapon systems increase the instability of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relationship and thus the international system itself.

## 2. Activities

a. To help the students understand the flaws of deterrence, examine together the ineffectiveness of deterrence in other aspects of life. Has capital punishment proven effective? Or, closer to home perhaps, do strict laws and harsh penalties for possession of drugs work? Many communities think that if they crack down on the first kids caught with possession, the problem will disappear. Have such tactics worked? What about this kind of discipline that is based on the threat of severe punishment in your classroom or homes?

b. An excellent audio-visual that raises the questions of true security and the effectiveness of deterrence, as well as presents the realities, societal consequences, and alternatives to a \$100 billion military budget in the U.S., is "Guns or Butter: Uncle Sam's Military Tapeworm" (produced by SANE. Have students discuss President Eisenhower's statement in the presentation: "No matter how much we spend for arms, there is no safety in arms alone. Our security is the total product of our economic, intellectual, moral and military strengths."

c. "You Don't Have to Buy War Anymore, Mrs. Smith," (see p. 187), is a powerful statement on film about the insanity of trying to achieve security

\*See Social Indicators: 1973 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Management and Budget).

through "adding to an inventory of insanity". Weapons of death are graphically described, with an emphasis on the fact that the most serious threats to our national security are poverty, pollution, urban decay and the resulting despair.

## d. "National Classroom Budget"

Both younger and older students could construct their own "national classroom budget" (NCB). The teacher should estimate the cost of supplying the entire class with sufficient educational materials (books, paper, writing materials, etc.) and also the cost of their lunches and of the maintenance on the room, furniture and equipment. That becomes their "NCB".

Then inform the class that they have to provide for security too. This means the cost of buying locks for the doors and bars for the windows, paying one or more classmates to stand guard during lunch hour (no one would volunteer to miss lunch) and buying them weapons like clubs and handcuffs. Know the purchase price of these items. Subtract this amount from the "NCB" and then distribute the remainder according to distribution patterns existing in this country. 20% (the wealthy) of the class gets 75% of the money; 40% (poor) get about 3% of the money; and the remaining 40% (middle class) gets about 22%.\* Have them decide how to spend their money--for materials, lunches, and maintenance. Also budget for broken windows. The longer the simulation lasts, the greater the conflicts between the rich and the poor will become.

In debriefing the game, talk about the various types of security and insecurity. The internal problems of the country (class) will probably be a greater security concern than the external threats. Because there are genuine external security threats in the real world and perhaps only relatively minor ones in a school, depending on the school, the simulation is not an exact replica of the world situation. However, it is real enough to bring home some basic realities to the students.

Then repeat the exercise but let the students decide how much to spend on "classroom security" and how to distribute the budget and see if they create a better situation than the first one. Such an exercise will provide insight on poverty/exploitation as a cause of war and relate the building of the world without war to the broader question of a just economic system at home and for the rest of the world. See, above, pp. 224-25, and the "Maldistribution Simulation," pp. 121-24.

## D. UNITED NATIONS

## 1. Concept

If deterrence through overkill and massive military spending is not the way to prevent war, what is? There are at least several alternatives, including

world law and a strong United Nations. The United Nations represents a global approach to what are truly global problems, ranging from global poverty to war and the preparation for war. And the United Nations is probably the most appropriate of all global agencies, since decision-making is more equally shared among the nations of the world in the UN than in other groups like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Despite its mixed record, the UN, especially a strengthened UN, still seems to be one essential, perhaps the most essential, ingredient in building a world without war.

Obviously, much has been written on the UN, and there are a number of good sources for teaching materials on the UN. Especially valuable is "Teaching Materials on the UN: An Annotated Bibliography for Elementary and Secondary Schools," published by UN USA (c/o UN Plaza, New York). Local UN or UNICEF offices in many U.S. cities are excellent sources of other materials--from films, greeting cards, and pamphlets, to books and action possibilities for students at all levels.

## 2. Activities

a. Have the students discuss the following 1970 statement of U Thant, to see whether they agree on the need for such a global approach:

"I do not wish to seem overdramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me... that the members of the UN have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to development efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control."

Do the students think he is exaggerating? Have them ask their parents and other adults about the quotation and see what reactions they get. You might have them predict what will happen by 1980 if a global partnership is not forged, or if one is forged. We are already past the half-way point (1975). Is U Thant's warning accurate?

b. Two specific case studies provide an interesting introduction to the idea of international organizations and help students start asking questions about the issues raised. The AEP Pamphlet, "Organizations Among Nations," examines 1) "1936: A Threatened Nation Calls for Help" (About Ethiopia and the League of Nations); and 2) "A Man of Peace Faces Chaos in the Congo" (about former Secretary General of the UN Dag Hammarskjöld).

\* Thanks to Fran Schmidt & Grace Abrams for this activity from their excellent book, Learning Peace

c. In addition to participating in "Model UN" programs, if possible, you might hold a mock General Assembly session in your classroom on one of these questions or others: 1) the UN should control the resources of the ocean; 2) the UN and pollution problems; 3) the UN and world hunger;

d. The recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In so doing, students should clearly realize that the UN is more involved in social, economic and humanitarian works than it is even in peace-keeping. Write to National High School Model United Nations, 3 Holly Street, Norwalk, Connecticut 06851.

e. An audio-visual presentation of the law of the seas question is Part III of the "Patterns of Human Conflict" kit (see pp. 26-27). For background information and teaching suggestions on the UN and the law of the seas issue, see Sr. Helen Garvey's special high school unit, "Who Owns the Seas?" (\$1.00). Write to the World Without War Council office in Berkeley.

f. In examining the peace-keeping role the UN has played, students will realize that the UN has failed more than it has succeeded. Nesbitt's Teaching About War and War Prevention contains proposals for strengthening the UN, which would be good subject-matter for student discussion and/or debate. The best student (senior high school) source on this question of peace-keeping is the Institute for World Order publication, Peacekeeping, from the Perspectives in World Order Series.

g. Students can participate in the work of the UN by working with UNICEF. Halloween especially offers children of all ages the opportunity to raise people's awareness of the needs of children all over the world, as well as to raise money to meet these needs. We would suggest the slide presentation, "The Rights of the Child," produced by the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, as an excellent preparation for such consciousness-raising and fund-raising activities. You might arrange a showing of it for the adults, as well as children, in your neighborhood. There is an adult script as well as a children's script. See GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6 for many other suggestions.

h. See US FOREIGN POLICY and the discussion of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (pp. 104a-b), for a consideration of another aspect of the U.N. and how our government relates to the UN.

## WORLD LAW

### 1. Concept.

Many people think of peace as Augustine did when he defined it as "the tranquillity of order." Some "order" seems essential, though not the kind of order that repressive military or other dictatorial governments provide. If order is necessary, then some sort of world law is implied. Nesbitt's book explains one very detailed proposal for world law and effective world government--the Clark-Sohn Proposal. An introduction to this plan is available in



a number of books and has been published separately by the World Without War Council and entitled World Peace Through World Law.

## 2. Activities

a. The best introduction to the necessity of world law is through the film, "The Hat: Is This War Necessary?". This 18-minute animated color production is available at most public libraries and the Institute for World Order. "The Hat" explores in a delightful way the complex questions of international organization and law, the human character of the problems, and the consequences of a world without international law.

b. There already is a body of world law with which the students are probably not familiar with the exception, perhaps, of the Geneva Conventions on the laws regulating nations in wartime. Several things have been written, especially in the light of the war in Indochina, about the viability of such law. This could provide the basis for student discussion on world law in general. See the "Laws of the Seas" material mentioned above.

c. The World Federalists USA is an organization committed to the notion of world law and the Clark-Sohn plan in particular. You might invite a representative of the organization to address your class. The World Federalists have offices/chapters in many US cities and would be a good resource on this topic. You might have the students investigate the World Federalists USA Youth Organization.

## F. Functionalism and Transnational Networks

Transnational networks--associations of persons from different parts of the world whose common interest(s) are other than national interests--are an essential component of a world without war. It cannot be left to diplomats and politicians to make and live a peaceful world. Further, we ought to ask serious questions about any political structure, like some forms of world government, that would centralize power and responsibility more and more. Two forms that mirror this caution are functionalism and transnational networks. Functionalism, briefly, means that bureaus of world citizens would be formed for specific problems--pollution, trade, disarmament, money, etc.--and would interlock with other bureaus, but would not result in some super-centralized world government. As much as possible, decisions would be left to local and regional groups.

Nongovernmental transnational networks--like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, YWCA and YMCA, Kiwanis, Rotary, dozens of peace groups, and about 4000 other organizations, at present--bring people together for common purposes across national boundaries and are the substance of any world without war. As diplomats are trying to construct the political framework of such a world, the people must provide both the vision and the reality. We begin to live such a world through some of these networks, especially if we build on the globalness involved in the networks.

An excellent source, both for vision and for transitional strategy, is George Lakey, Strategy for a Living Revolution (Freeman, 1973). See PEACE IS POSSIBLE, for an elaboration of this decentralized vision. See also LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE.

G. Nonviolent Revolution/Anarchism See CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, ESPECIALLY PPS 25-26).

As the Institute for World Order outlines the anarchist vision, "an important tradition of radical political thought has maintained that reliance on governmental presence to order human affairs is the basic source of almost everything wrong in society.... It has been very influential in 'counter-culture' thinking, combining an anti-government and anti-technology position....

"Although it challenges the basic assumptions of statism (the nation-state system) as a world order system, at the present time this anarchist challenge is formulated largely in national terms. When presented in political form, it takes a position opposed to the military-industrial complex, to domestic exploitation of minority races and the poor, and to the destruction of the environment on behalf of profit-impelled economic growth. The logic of coping with these national concerns is to cut the defense budget, reduce the interventionary side of foreign policy, encourage policies to promote well-being on a global level, and favor international cooperation in such areas as disarmament, environmental protection and the promotion of human rights.

"In these ways, certain degrees of success of anarchist tendencies within states might help set the stage for a positive world order solution. It is this prospect of influence, rather than the plausibility of anarchist solutions per se (which are non-existent) that makes the anarchist position of interest."

H. A Socialist Economic Structure (See JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY)

## I. World Order Models Project (WOMP)

WOMP is a multi-year effort by the Institute for World Order in New York, to design world order models from different cultural perspectives and revolving around 4 basic values: nonviolent means of resolving conflict, economic justice, human rights and ecological care. Based on models submitted from around the world, they have begun to construct a basic model which they envision coming into being gradually. As described in "Alternative International Systems: Building a Preferred World," by Michael Washburn (June 1974)--

"The model anticipates the centralized administration of many human realms of activity: health, environmental protection; money; business operations; ocean and space use; disarmament; disaster relief; peacekeeping and peaceful settlement of conflicts; resource conservation.

Superagencies which administer activities in these areas will develop along functional lines, and may include various agencies presently associated with national governments. Augmented international political institutions, less tied to the state system, will attempt to assure that value priorities are upheld and that various functional activities are coordinated. As with any political mechanism, it will be vulnerable to whatever deficiencies exist with regard to the intensity and clarity of the underlying consensus shaped around world order values during the transition period.

"Constitutional mechanisms will attempt to mediate between concerns for efficiency and dignity. There will be checks and balances; as wide participation in decisional processes as feasible; procedural opportunities for review; a code of restraints designed to safeguard diversity, autonomy, and creativity; a minimization of bureaucratic role.

"The Imagery of Central Guidance. The basic image of authority in this preference model is central guidance, relying on minimum coercion and bureaucracy to coordinate activities of the collective entities in the world system. Central guidance implies a stress on process, and on self-corrective procedures.

"Despite a seeming contradiction, a central guidance system can include wide dispersion of authority and distribution of power to other actors. Thus a commitment to central guidance is not a commitment to a "world government solution" that would be accomplished mainly through shifts of authority and power from state actors to a general purpose global actor. The preference model relies heavily on a buildup of a role and capability for all categories of non-state actors, coupled with a shift in orientation (more than a reduction in power) for state actors. Global functional actors (specialized agencies of universal scope) are closely related to the central global political machinery."

(Note: a detailed description of the structure and operating components and principles of this model is available from the Institute for World Order)

#### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See bibliographies in PEACE IS POSSIBLE; THE MEANING OF PEACE; CAUSES OF WAR; JUSTICE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY; CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION; LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE.

See bibliographies in Nesbitt, Teaching About War and War Prevention, and in Abrams and Schmidt, Learning Peace and Peace Is in Our Hands.

AEP pamphlets--"Diplomacy and International Law" "Organizations Among Nations"

World Federalists Youth, USA, 2029 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. In St. Louis the World Federalists is located at 8894 Berkay Ave., Jennings, MO 63136: Mr. Ronald Glossop.

For UNICEF materials, see GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, K-6.

World Without War Council (Midwest), 110 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois (Mr. Lowell Livezey), has developed teaching materials on a world without war, emphasis on citizen responsibility for sharing in the task of building such a world. So has the Berkeley, CA Office; write Sr. Helen Garvey.

War and War Prevention, by Joseph and Roberta Moore, is an excellent high school text, covering the traditional aspects of war and alternatives, with a special focus in the final chapters on envisioning and strategizing about preferred world futures without war. This is especially helpful for students. Included with the United Nations Charter is "A Constitution for the World". Available from the Hayden Book Company, Rochelle Park, N.J., for \$2.50 (140 pages); 1974.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency publishes many things dealing with disarmament. Besides their yearly reports, which are available free, they publish a monthly "Disarmament Chronology" giving the disarmament developments that occurred that previous month. In addition, they put out research reports like an October 1970 study on "Economic Impact of Defense and Disarmament in the U.S."

Because of the transition of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from an independent advocate for arms control and disarmament within the Federal Government to a part of the Executive and thus with less freedom, the Arms Control Association was created in 1971 by former ACDA staff and directors. This association is a non-partisan national organization dedicated to promoting public understanding of effective policies and programs in arms control and disarmament. They publish a monthly review entitled ACT (Arms Control Today), which describes current events in arms control and disarmament.

World Armaments and Disarmament, DIPRI Yearbook, published yearly by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, is the authoritative source for such information. The summaries of each yearbook are also helpful in providing some data.

Several documents and organizations are quite helpful in the matter of economic conversion, the defense budget, and the military-industrial complex:

"Military Policy and Budget Priorities: FY 1975 (A Report to Congress)," a counter-budget, as it were, prepared by concerned experts, and available from Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy

"Swords into Ploughshares: A Program for Conversion," by Derek Shearer and available from either the AFSC or Clergy and Laity Concerned. An excellent blueprint of conversion possibilities.

See the issues of the Friends Committee on National Legislation newsletter.

## PART II

## Peace and Justice in a Religion Curriculum

## A. THE CALL TO PEACE AND JUSTICE

## 1. THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE

## 2. PROPHETS--OLD TESTAMENT AND TODAY

3. THE GOSPEL OF JESUS V. THE GOSPEL OF  
AMERICAN CULTUREa. Contrast Between Gospel Values and Prevailing  
U.S. Values

## b. The American Value System

## 4. CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

## INTRODUCTION

This section of the Manual is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the Old and New Testament imperatives of peace and justice and on the role of the Christian Church and individual Christian in these matters, particularly in U.S. society. Thus, this Part opens with a unit on the meaning of peace and justice, followed by a unit on Old Testament and contemporary prophets. The next unit pairs the "Gospel Call to Peace and Justice" with "The American Value System," to point out contrasts between the two. The tension between one's commitment to God and to the nation is more concretely explored in the unit on Christian patriotism.

The second part of this section examines the principles of the first part in relation to specific problem areas of peace and justice. Several units on the Christian's response to war are included. In other cases, the reader should refer to Part I of this Manual for the specific units where the religious dimension is interwoven into the discussion of the issues.

The life-style implications for most of these topics are developed in Part IV of the Manual--"Living Justice and Peace." In addition, consult the life-style suggestions in the Units on WORLD HUNGER, GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, and MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING. The implication for the classroom and school -- specifically the process of education itself -- are elaborated in detail in Part III, "Mutual Education."

Two specific references not specifically discussed in this Part II should be mentioned at this point. First, Sr. Judy Merkle, SND, has produced an excellent short teachers manual for elementary teachers entitled Justice Education for Young Christians. It takes global awareness themes and integrates them into the celebrations of Baptism, the Eucharist and Penance, and then into liturgical celebrations around Advent/Christmas and Lent/Easter. From a multicultural perspective it is excellent. For instance, to explain the unity of human family in Baptism and the Eucharist, she uses Julius Nyerere's concept of ujama (see pp. 97-98). The liturgical suggestions are good and teachers preparing their young students for First Communion and for Penance will find it most helpful. It is available from Justice Education Materials, 701 E. Columbia Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45215 (\$2.75 plus \$1.00 mailing).

The second curriculum item is a complete educational program produced by the United Church of Christ and entitled "The Shalom Curriculum." As its creators describe it, the Shalom Curriculum is an educational approach that takes the vision of shalom as its unifying principle. By aiming for shalom, this curriculum grounds its goals in the very heartbeat of the biblical faith. And by taking the total life of a congregation as the context for education, it makes possible a positive program to enable and equip children, youth and adults to be faithful to the Gospel. An essential aid, both for the leadership effort and for congregational use, is Signs of Shalom, a practical guidebook for planners in local churches. The basic educational resource is the Bible. Other resources are suggested as teaching/learning helps for participants. These resources are listed in a "Shalom Resources Catalog," containing complete descriptions, prices, and ordering instructions. Available from the Division of Publications, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.



## THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE

## GOALS and RELEVANCE

A. To come to an experimental understanding of peace; an understanding relevant to the personal, inter-personal, community and global levels; an understanding in as concrete terms as possible; and an understanding of peace as a "Positive" concept.

B. To get at the meaning of peace by "doing" peace (both the discussion technique focusing on peace as a verb and the "utopian gallery" do this).

C. It is important to do this session early in a course/program in order, first, to find out where the group is in their thinking; second, to help build a cooperative approach to learning; and third, to clarify the goal or vision we are working for in trying to bring "peace". If the course permits, this might be the topic of one of the final sessions, to compare the development of the group.

D. To understand the centrality of peace and justice in Scripture and in the teachings of the Christian churches.

## METHODOLOGY

## A. Group discussion: "Peace as a Verb"

If you see peace along Gandhian lines and along the lines of the definition given in the Vatican II document, The Church in the Modern World, as a creative process of dealing with differences and conflict in such a way that harmonizing and "including" rather than excluding are the result; such that the goal is not victory over the opponent but over the situation, whereby the significant needs of the conflicting parties are incorporated in the resolution; and peace as a process of cooperation rather than "coexistence"; one effective way of getting this across is as follows:

In groups of 5-10 (depending on time), have all persons write out on a card in 10 minutes their understanding of peace as a verb (this helps to concretize the concept). Then collect and distribute the cards, so that each person has another's. One person then reads the definition he receives, has one minute to speak to it, and then asks the group for their reaction to it (2 minutes maximum). After each definition is so considered, the group leader (time-keeper) could then ask the group to arrive at a consensus definition--one that expresses the essential aspects of each person's concept. For this consensus operation in student groups, one might use the technique of listing the major components of the various definitions on the blackboard and then of having the group rank each component in importance.

This method is actually trying to do the definition of peace given above. Each person has to try to understand another's

position, relate it to his own position, and as a group, resolve the probable conflicts in a way that incorporates the essential elements of each position. It can also show how taking different positions seriously and letting all know they have a chance to speak in turn can create the kind of open, trusting atmosphere without which such peaceful conflict resolution cannot take place.

The observer-timer for each group should be looking for whether people really related to one another, whether they worked creatively to resolve the conflicts or whether they disengaged from the conflicts. If there are conflicts which are avoided, the leader might note in the reflection afterwards that peace is not the avoidance of conflict (or the absence of war). He can use Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham City Jail", which raises the question of creative tension or confrontation to surface conflicts, as a prelude to a "positive" peace. See pp. 23-24.

## B. "Utopian Gallery"

Provide ample paper, crayons, pens, pictures, whatever, to enable all individuals to express their vision -- in as concrete terms as possible--of a world of positive peace. Persons should work individually for 15-30 minutes, creating their "peace", either in an essay, poem, picture.

Then group the class into groups of 4, each group's task being to develop a composite/consensus expression of their joint understanding of a peaceful world.

Then display the group creations around the room and have each group speak of their vision of peace.

C. Have students find definitions/descriptions of peace in articles, newspapers, dictionary, etc., and bring these together and evaluate them as a class.

D. Have students think of personal experiences when they were and were not at peace with themselves and others, or make a list of all things they think peace is and is not, and begin to move toward consensus.

E. Role playing alternative solutions to conflicts that arise daily in the lives of the participants. (See "Fighting Fair" exercises for suggestions) pp. 18

F. Start with presentations (slides/film) on "peace-makers" and try to identify what these persons are working for in working for peace. (See listing under "Today's Peace-makers") pp. 317-19.

## CONTENT

## A. The Vatican II definition of peace—

"Peace is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. Nor is it brought about by dictatorship. Instead, it is rightly and appropriately called 'an enterprise of justice' (Isaias 32:7). Peace results from that harmony built into human society by its divine Founder, and actualized by men as they thirst after ever greater justice .... Hence peace is likewise the fruit of love, which goes beyond what justice can provide." (Church in the Modern World)—

sees peace in basically two senses. First, peace is a process of harmonization, whose core reality and motivating force is love. And secondly, peace is possible only to the extent to which justice is a reality.

## 1. Peace as the Process of Harmonization

## a. Gospel Description

Jesus describes the Kingdom of God in many places but nowhere more emphatically and succinctly as in His Last Discourse in John's Gospel: "May they all be one. Father, may they be one in us, as you are in me and I am in you." The oneness of the human family, centered on God, is a oneness that does not wipe out differences. There is one body, but with many parts, many different functions, and many different gifts (1 Cor. 12), and the challenge is to put these together in love (1 Cor. 13), in a way in which each is enriched by the differences and the whole much richer than any of the parts. Understanding, valuing, learning from and creating harmony out of differences—a challenge for families, classrooms, neighborhoods, and whole societies.

Such a process involves us in a lot of conflict situations. Jesus recognized this and saw that confrontation was a necessary part of His, and thus the Christian, life. He came to bring peace; but He also told us that He came to bring the sword and His followers could expect to be pitted against the powers of this world and even possibly against their own relatives.

His confrontation is confrontation whose goal is reconciliation. Jesus describes the process of correcting one's sister or brother in Matt. 18:15-18. The first step is not to call a press conference and denounce the person in public, but to try many ways of converting the person in private. As Justice in the World describes it, we are called to prophetic denunciation of injustice but with love:

"Our mission demands that we should courageously denounce injustice, with charity, prudence and firmness, in sincere dialogue with all parties concerned. We know that our denunciations can secure assent to the extent that they are an expression of our lives and are manifested in continuous action."

In Gandhian terms, the "harmonization" aspect of peace is operationalized

in the following process:

(1) confrontation rather than avoidance—surfacing the issue, expressing one's needs; but confrontation in such a way that dialogue results. This requires:

(2) a recognition that my way is not the only way, that the truth is larger than my truth and that it is the truth (common good) that one is after;

(3) a willingness to be completely honest about my own position, to acknowledge its shortcomings when they become clear (vs. saving face),

to climb into the shoes of the other and understand his needs and to express this understanding/concern early in the process;

to forgive my own evil and that of the other. These, in turn, require:

(4) a sense of personal security and a simplicity of life that reduce my need to be defensive;

(5) a willingness to trust in the basic goodness of the other, a depth that can be reached by disarming his fear and selfishness through:

an absence of rhetoric, needlessly offensive behavior;

a willingness to suffer and keep coming back; to keep the channels of communication open;

a willingness to serve the other whenever possible. See CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, pp. 25-26, for an elaboration of peace as Gandhian nonviolence.

## 2. "If you want peace, work for justice" (Pope Paul VI, Jan. 1, 1974)

a. Psalm 72 & Jeremiah 6:13-16 make it clear that there can be no peace (no "shalom") where there is no justice, which seems to be the consistent message of all the prophets. The kingdom described in Psalm 85 has justice and peace kissing, but it is clear from the final verse that the peace that the Lord is to bring will require that justice precede it.

b. What is "justice"? If we take the traditional definition of justice as "giving each person his/her due," we have to ask further what is due the human person or, in other words, what are the basic human rights: Pacem in Terris, Justice in the World, and the message issued by Pope Paul VI and the Synod on Evangelization in 1974 on justice and human development are the three clearest answers to the second question. What is due to the human person is full human development. Briefly, this means the right of each individual person and each people (society) to

sufficient life-goods, without which human life and development are impossible. This means food, shelter, clothing, skills development, medical care. The Synod on Evangelization affirms clearly that the right to eat is second only to the right to life itself.

dignity.--This means that the uniqueness and value for all persons and peoples is affirmed, called forth and shared in a way that others are enriched by them.

participation. This means the right of each person and people to shape their own destiny, to exercise some control over the forces (economic, political, cultural, educational) that shape their lives, to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. Thus, justice demands that individuals and peoples become the agents of their own development and not just beneficiaries of development. See Part I, "Global Poverty and Development," pp. 109-110, for some of the implications of this understanding of justice, and pp. 237-44 for an outline of these principles in key documents of Catholic Teaching, 1967-1974.

B. Eugene Merz, S.J., has explored the meaning of peace in Scripture, in something of a chronological order. He also finds the elements of justice and reconciliation as central, but adds an emphasis on interior peace, peace understood as a gift of God.

#### 1. Early Old Testament Meanings

In the early days of the Hebrew people, peace was a kind of euphoria, a feeling of "all-is-well." Later it was a gift of the king. If he wanted war, the nation went to war; if he wanted peace, he made a covenant and the nation enjoyed peace. Therefore, peace was the direct result of a covenant:

Jos. 9:14, 10:1-4, 11:19 Is. 30-31

2. God's peace is a result of the covenant at Sinai:

Deut. 29:8, 11:13-17 Lev. 26:3-7

3. The prophets tell of a messianic peace and that Yahweh's covenant of peace will never be shaken:

Jer. 28:9, 30:1-11, 30:17-22, 31:3-14  
Ez. 36:24-28, 37:23b-28  
Ju. 31:31-34  
Ez. 34:25-31  
Is. 49:8, 54:10, 55:10-11

#### 4. Reign of peace promised

1 Chron. 12:18, Ps. 72, Sirach 47:13, 16  
Rev. 7:9-17; 21-22

5. Peace is only possible because we have a God of peace

Lk. 1-2 (the Incarnation brings peace)  
Phil. 4:7-9 (the peace of God is beyond our understanding)  
2 Thes. 3:16 (may the Lord of peace give you peace)  
Acts 10:36-43 (the good news of peace was brought by Jesus)  
Eph. 6:15 (spread the Gospel of peace)

6. The essential element of Christian peace is grounded in salvation given by God, which is the peace of God. Christians must let this peace seep in and be a part of their lives, and bear witness to others of their own interior peace, a peace they share with God:

2 Tim 2:22-25 & James 3:14-18 (peacemakers, sow seeds of holiness)  
Col. 3:12-15 (may the peace of Christ reign in your heart)  
Heb. 12:14 (always be wanting peace with all people)  
Rom. 14:19 (let us adopt any custom that leads to peace)  
Mt. 5:9 (happy are the peacemakers)

7. In the New Testament, peace is not material. It is the quality of life that signifies peace. There is a new covenant and people of the new covenant, who are bearers of peace living out the Sermon on the Mount: Matt 5-7; Lk 9:54-56

8. Jesus is the ultimate peace-bearer, seeking the covenant with His peace, which contains the power of reconciliation. When Christians fail their covenant, peace is in jeopardy. The person of the new covenant is a person of reconciliation:

Phil. 4:4-9, Eph. 2:13-18, Rom. 5:1-2

They are persons of forgiveness, who love their enemies:

Matt. 18:19-20, 5:23-34, 5:38-48; Lk 6:27-35; Rom 12:14-21

9. Paul is always greeting people with "peace!"--a messianic peace, spiritualized so much that it can exist with persecution. Peace is not complacency:

Rom 1:1-7, 8:35-39; 2 Cor. 1:1-2; Gal. 1:1-5; Matt 10:34-36

10. The Christian bears witness to the inner peace of God by bringing peace to others. External peace has a counterpart in interior peace and manifests itself in justice toward other persons:

Mic 6:8, Ps 8:9-13, Ps 72:3-7, Is 32:15-20, Zac 9:9-10, Jer 6:13-16, Matt 25:31-46, 13:24-30

## C. The Word of God on Social Justice

## 1. God answers the poor and oppressed; Jesus as liberator

--Ps 72, Ps 146:7-10, Exodus 3:7-10 (God liberates the poor; peace requires Justice)  
 --Is 61:1-2, Is 58:6, Luke 4:18-21 (Messiah as liberator of poor)  
 --Deut 10:16-19, Jer 7:1-11, Luke 1:52-53, Luke 15:1-3 (God loves the poor especially, so we should too)  
 --Ps 9, Ps 40 (special regard for the poor)  
 --2 Cor 8:9 (Jesus became poor to liberate the poor)  
 --Hosea 6:1-4, Ez 34:11-31, Ez 37:11 (hope for justice)

## 2. Cease exploiting the poor and act justly; that's the kind of worship/sacrifice I desire, says Yahweh

--Amos 2:6-7, Amos 4:1-3, Amos 5:7-12, Amos 8:4-7, Ec 4:1-3, Is 5:1-7 Matt 23:23-24, Jer 22:13-17, Job 22:6-11, Micah 2:1-3, Is 3:13-15 Is 10:1-2 (woe to the powerful who exploit the poor)  
 --Amos 6:1, Is 5:8-9 (woe to the rich)  
 --Is 1:11-12, Amos 5:21-24, Is 58:6-11 (justice, not empty sacrifices, is what I desire)  
 --Ps 82, Lev 19:11-18, Micah 6:8 (no more mockery of justice; act justly)  
 --Ez 34, Micah 3:1-4 (special responsibility of leaders)  
 --James 2:1-9, Ez 18:7-9, Job 31:16-23, Sir 3:30-4:11 (special respect due to the poor)  
 --Col 3:11 (no racial discrimination)  
 --Matt 7:21, Luke 6:46-49 (don't just pray; act!)

## 3. Christianity is service

--Luke 22:25-27, Mark 9:35, Mark 10:41-45, Matt 20:25-28, (the greatest is the one who serves)  
 --John 13:4-13 (Washing the feet of Apostles)  
 --James 1:22-27, James 2:14-16 (practice what you preach; Faith plus good works)  
 --John 10:1-18 (Good Shepherd); Matt 10:25-37 (Good Samaritan)  
 --Acts 6:1-6, 2 Cor 6:6, Phil 2:1-11 (unity & service as essential)  
 --1 Peter 4:10-11, Gal 5:13-15 (gifts & freedom to be used for service)  
 --Matt 25:31-46 (works of mercy required)  
 --Gal 6:2 (bear one another's burdens), Hebrews 13:1-3 (special love for strangers & prisoners)

## 4. Cease hoarding; distribute wealth, share our goods

--Habakkuk 2:5-14, Luke 16:19-31 (don't hoard; rich man & Lazarus)  
 --Tobit 4:7-12, 16-17, Deut 15:11, Luke 12:33 (almsgiving)  
 --Lev 25:35-38, Deut 24:17-22 (Jewish welfare system; land belongs to God)  
 --Matt 5:38-48, Luke 3:11 (give coat too)  
 --1 John 3:17-18, 1 John 4:19-21 (love demands sharing)  
 --Acts 2:43-47, Acts 4:32-35 (Christian community sharing all)  
 --2 Cor 8:1-15 (community & sharing surplus with the poor)  
 --Rom 12:10-18, Luke 14 (hospitality our special duty)

## 5. Life of justice means poverty and persecution

--1 Tim 6:7-10, Mark 10:17-31, Mark 6:7-13, Matt 8:20 (our mission requires voluntary poverty)  
 --Matt 6:19-34 (poverty and trust)  
 --Matt 10:17-39, Matt 16:24-26, Mark 8:34-38, John 15:18-16:4, John 17:9-20 (we find our lives when we lose them; persecution for Christ's followers)  
 --John 10:1-18 (the Good Shepherd)

## 6. Justice demands obedience to a higher law than the State or the laws of profit-oriented economics

--Acts 4:18-22 (Obey God rather than persons)  
 --Acts 16:16-24, 17:1-9 (Christianity disturbs status quo; people vs. profits)  
 --Luke 12:13-21 (person's worth not measured by what they own)  
 --Matt 12:1-14, Mark 2:23-3:6 (human well-being is the end of institutions)  
 --Matt 22:15-22 (Render to Caesar...to God)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY/RESOURCES

Bishop Dozier, "Peace: Gift and Task," and accompanying Study Guide available through the Diocesan Offices, 1325 Jefferson, Memphis, Tenn. 38104

"Peace: A Study and a Prayer," prepared by the Central Province Commission on Peace and Non-Violence, Diocese of La Crosse, Wis.

The Church in the Modern World (Documents of Vatican II)

Martin Luther King, "Letter from a Birmingham City Jail" (see pp. 23ff)

See "Gandhi as Peace-Maker" and other resources listed under "Today's Peace-Makers" (pp. 318-19)



## CATHOLIC CHURCH TEACHING ON JUSTICE, 1967 - 1974

Introduction

This section outlines the essential content of four historic documents on the meaning and call to social justice. On the Development of Peoples is Pope Paul VI's encyclical issued in 1967 on the meaning and tasks of "development." Justice in the World is the 1971 Synodal document that proclaimed "action on behalf of justice" a "constitutive dimension" of the preaching of the Gospel. A Call to Action is Pope Paul VI's letter on the 80th anniversary of Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII. This Land Is Home to Me is the 1974 pastoral letter of the Appalachian bishops on powerlessness in Appalachia. All four documents emphasize the role of the Church and individual Christians in structural change of an economic and political nature, a strong critique of capitalist economics, and a view of development and justice primarily in terms of individuals and societies gaining greater control over their own destinies.

On the Development of Peoples

## I. Basic Outline

A. Development means the development of all persons and of the whole person, especially of persons and societies in the shaping of their own destinies.

B. There is no development, individual or societal -- without an operationalized human solidarity, a solidarity whose implied prescriptions are a matter of justice.

C. Peace is the fruit of such development/justice (#76).

## II. Development

A. The integral development of the whole person (#14-15) means:

1. to have more in order to be more (#6), which implies that growth is not equated with more possessions and that "avarice is the most evident form of moral underdevelopment" (#19).

2. Solidarity is necessary; in fact, it gives meaning to life (#42).

3. All persons are called to be co-creators of the world (#22, 27).

4. Participation is crucial. Economic activity is not an end in itself but is to serve persons, and serving persons means helping them shape their own destinies (#34).

5. An openness to God as the ultimate end of all life (#42, 71).

B. Societal development involves

1. A maximization of participation by all (#34, 65) and thus the importance of education (#35) and work (#27-28).

2. The role of families is for personal and service-oriented growth (#36), and the size of families to be determined by families themselves but with social criteria.

3. The role of professional organizations is to extend development and participation of individuals and promote their interests (#38).

4. Pluralism is to be welcomed (#39) and culture is essential. "Poor" societies have much to contribute to rich ones (#40) and culture should not be sacrificed for material gain (#41).

5. Planning is crucial and radical reforms, rather than revolution (except under extreme circumstances), are encouraged (#29-33).

6. Societal development is the responsibility of the society itself and all vestiges of neo-colonialism must be eliminated (#65, 77).

### III. Development Requires Solidarity (#43)

#### A. "The social question has become worldwide" (# 3)

The same class analysis within industrialized nations is true of the relation between rich and poor nations of the world (#7-9). Just as we have regulated capitalism within the First World for the sake of the common good, so too must it be regulated internationally (#61, 70).

#### B. Private property is not an absolute right

1. What we are and have we owe to others and not just to our own efforts (#17) and thus we have a responsibility to those who come after us.

2. The universal purpose of created things is "to furnish each individual with the means of livelihood and the instruments for his progress; each person, therefore, has the right to find in the world what is necessary for himself." "All other rights whatsoever, including those of property and of free commerce, are to be subordinated to this principle." (#22).

3. Thus, the common good takes precedence. "No one is justified in keeping for his exclusive use what he does not need, when others lack necessities." "You are not making a gift of your possessions to the poor person. You are handing over to him what is his. For what was given in common for the use of all, you have arrogated to yourself" (#23). Thus, expropriation is sometimes appropriate (#24):

#### C. Solidarity negates wasteful military spending (#53, 84).

D. Solidarity requires structural changes and is a duty especially of more privileged nations (#44). This implies at least 3 different duties:

1. The duty of human solidarity -- a direct transfer of wealth from rich to poor. This is required of individuals and nations (#48) and involves taxing ourselves (#47, 84) and promoting full production of necessities, partially for poorer countries (#48). It further involves creating a world fund by reducing military spending (#49-53), easing debt burdens (#54), all so that poorer nations can "work for their own betterment."

2. The duty of social justice -- rectifying the unjust terms of trade, by modifying the "law of free competition" (#59) and promoting international agreements "for regulating certain prices, for guaranteeing certain types of production, for supporting certain new industries" (#61). Nationalism and racism must also be fought, as these block such changes (#62-63).

3. The duty of universal charity -- involves hospitality to all (#67-69) and direct service overseas, but with a real sensitivity to the values and culture of the people (#70-74).

E. Solidarity requires the strengthening of a world authority to deal with these challenges (#78).

#### Justice in the World

I. "Action on behalf of justice" is a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel. See "The Ministry for Justice," by Fr. Bryan Hehir (NETWORK), for an analysis of this principle.

#### II. Development

A. "The right to development" is described in similar terms to Pope Paul's On the Development of Peoples, with special emphasis on effective participation by individuals and societies in the shaping of their own destinies.

B. Also, with Pope Paul, the Catholic bishops describe the present state of global injustice as a "crisis of universal solidarity."

### III. The Mission of the Church

#### A. To be the voice of the "voiceless" victims of injustice

The bishops singled out migrant farm workers, refugees, those persecuted for their religious beliefs, political prisoners, the unborn, and those hurt by the manipulation of the communications media as victims deserving special attention from the Church and individual Christians. To counteract the structural violence done to these victims, "we must be prepared to take on new functions and new duties in every sector of human activity."

B. To preach a Gospel message that identifies salvation in terms of the total liberation of persons. Christian love demands justice. This call is issued not only to individual Christians but also to Christian institutions.

### IV. The Practice of Justice

#### A. The Church must look at itself and rectify injustices within its own operation.

1. Women must be permitted to participate fully.
2. The Church must be among the poor, not the powerful, of this world.

#### B. Educating to Justice involves five aspects:

1. Countering a "narrow individualism" that "exalts possessions."
2. Awakening "a critical sense, which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and on its values; it will make people ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all persons."
3. Help persons gain greater control over their own lives.
4. Promoting "a practical education, which comes through action, participation and vital contact with the reality of injustice."
5. "courageously denouncing injustice, with charity, prudence and firmness, in sincere dialogue with all parties concerned. We know that our denunciations can secure assent to the extent that they are an expression of our lives and are manifested in continuous action."

### V. International Action on behalf of Justice

#### A. Nonviolence is essential

"It is absolutely necessary that international conflicts should not be settled by war, but that other methods better befitting human nature should be found."

#### B. A redistribution of international economic power

In calling for the aims of the Second Development Decade to be fostered, the bishops stress the need for "institutional arrangements for strengthening power and opportunities with regard to responsible decision by the developing nations and for full and equal participation in international organizations concerned with development."

C. The right to development must mean that people become the architects of their own destiny and always to be permitted to proceed "in accordance with their own culture."

## A Call to Action

### I. Economic Principles and Observations

A. The four basic problem areas in modern economics are "human conditions of production, fairness in the exchange of goods (trade) and in the division of wealth, the significance of the increased needs of consumption and the sharing of responsibility" (#7).

B. Concerning superfluous consumption: "While very large areas of the population are unable to satisfy their primary needs, superfluous needs are ingeniously created.... Having rationally endeavored to control nature, is he not now becoming the slave of the objects which he makes?" (#9).

C. The problem of urbanization is crucial (#9-12).

D. The end of economic activity is human well-being: "... the beginning, the subject and the goal of all social institutions is and must be the human person. Every person has the right, to work, to a chance to develop their qualities and personalities in the exercise of their profession, to equitable remuneration...." (#14)

E. The right to organize unions, within certain limitations, is affirmed (#14).

F. The ambiguous nature of progress: "The quality and the truth of human relations, the degree of participation and of responsibility, are no less significant and important for the future of society than the quantity and variety of goods produced and consumed." (#41).

### II. The Role of the Church's Social Teaching (#42-47)

A. Not to offer or authenticate any particular structure or solution to injustice (an extensive critique of both Marxism and capitalism), but also not just to preach general principles. (#26-38).

B. General principles of the Gospel must be applied to the changing situations of this world.

C. To be especially sensitive to disinterested service, especially of the poorest (also #23).

D. To "draw on its rich experience...to undertake the daring and creative innovations which the present state of the world requires."

### III. What Needs to Be Done

A. Participation is the #1 ingredient of justice.

1. Concerning individuals, each person must share in economic, political and social responsibility and decision-making (#47).

2. Concerning nations, "the most important duty in the realm of justice is to allow each country to promote its own development, within the framework of a cooperation free from any spirit of domination, whether economic or political." (#43).

B. Restructuring international economic relations (#43-46) and political regulation of economic activity so that the common good is promoted:

1. "...undertake a revision of the relations between nations, whether it is the question of the international division of production, the structure of exchanges, the control of profits, the monetary system...."

2. "...to question the models of growth of the rich nations and change peoples' outlooks, so that they may realize the prior call of international duty...."

3. "...to renew international organizations so that they may increase in effectiveness."

4. to regulate multinational corporations, to avoid "the excessive concentration of means and powers...."



C. An internal liberation concerning wealth and power, so that external liberation does not produce materialism and a national obsession with superiority, whether economic, technological, or military. (#45).

#### IV. What Should We Do

A. "To take politics seriously at its different levels...is to affirm the duty of man, of every person, to recognize the concrete reality and the value of the freedom of choice that is offered him to seek to bring about both the good of the city and of the nation and of humankind -- in the light of the Gospel."

B. Service -- "...and, in the framework of a legitimate plurality, to give both personal and collective witness to the seriousness of their faith by effective and disinterested service of persons."

C. Structural Change, both as individuals and as institutions

1. Responsibility of institutions: "It is in this regard too that Christian organizations, under their different forms, have a responsibility for collective action. Without putting themselves in the place of the institutions of civil society, they have to express, in their own way and rising above their particular nature, the concrete demands of the Christian faith for a just, and consequently necessary, transformation of society" (#51).

2. Responsibility of individuals: to be persons of hope; to be able to love those working in different ways to change structures; to recognize how they share in structural violence and work to overcome this; to combine "prophetic denunciations of injustice" with "a livelier sense of personal responsibility and by effective action"; and "to infuse a Christian spirit into the mentality, customs, laws and structures of the community in which they live" (#49-51).

#### This Land Is Home to Me (Appalachian Pastoral)

I. Introduction -- we bishops are trying to give voice to the voiceless poor, who are God's special people and whose voice we should trust.

#### II. The Land and Its People

A. The People -- poor, yet rich in many ways

B. Analysis of their economic situation

The role of coal is central; limited jobs pits people against people; industrialization becomes an end in itself and does great harm to the people; the giant corporations come and little people become ever more powerless; profit (and power) maximization becomes an idol with disastrous results.

C. Appalachia as a symbol of the whole world

The same pattern of economic exploitation and failure to serve the poor is to be found world-wide. But Appalachia is also a symbol of what people can and must do for themselves ("citizen involvement"), in addition to reform movements within institutions and even business, in order to diffuse/counteract the concentration of power in economic institutions that will resist such reforms. Finally, Appalachia is a symbol of how plain people get poorer as corporate profits go up. In the words of the Pastoral:

"There's an even bigger consumption problem among the rich -- the consumption not just of luxuries, but of power, of the power to shape economic structures, political structures, cultural structures, all in the service of more waste, more profit, more power."

Appalachia is also the symbol of the need to restore the aesthetic dimensions of life and of the necessity of nonviolent struggle against institutional violence and the culture of materialistic consumption.

### III. The Answer of the Lord and the Church

A. God is God of the poor, bringing liberation in Jesus from all forms of oppression -- it's a choice of life or death (Deut. 30). Excellent Scriptural analysis (see Part II, above, pp. ).

#### B. The Church's Mission and Social Teaching

1. To be a community (Acts 4) devoted to service...
2. especially to those who are the victims of the "new economic spirit,"
3. who must now have not only a greater share of goods but of decision-making power in industry, for ...
4. the concentration of power in the hands of a few is especially detrimental to human well-being.
5. To proclaim and work in the awareness that "the social question is now world-wide" (On the Development of Peoples, above).

### IV. Facing the Future

A. A new social order is emerging under the power of the Spirit Who is pressing us to help shape it.

#### B. Three elements in the process of remedying the situation:

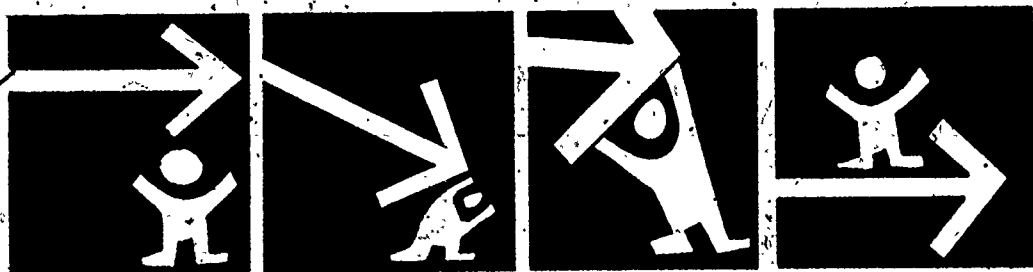
1. Closeness to the people (rich as well as poor, but especially the poor), for participation is a crucial value.

2. Use of science and technology always on behalf of people.

3. Steeping in the presence (and openness to) the Spirit.

#### C. An invitation to help draft a comprehensive plan of action that will include:

1. Centers of reflection and prayer;
2. Cooperation with other institutions that are open to the poor;
3. Centers of Popular Culture and other centers that bring the poor together;
4. and a special emphasis on economic analysis and action, especially concerning the multinational corporations.



# THE GOSPEL OF JESUS vs. THE GOSPEL OF AMERICAN CULTURE

## GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. To counterpose the Gospel of Jesus and the gospel of the culture in order to illustrate how we as a society preach against the peace of Christ, and in order to realize how we have "Americanized" the Gospel of Jesus. Before being able to hear what the Gospel is saying to us, we have to realize how much the culture has distorted it.
2. To present the Gospel message in its overwhelming demands, but in such a way that we can handle our sinfulness and the distance we find ourselves from the ideal.
3. To help participants realize that unless we examine our own life style of living peace, we cannot be teachers of peace; and to point ways in which we can begin to live peace.

## CONTRAST BETWEEN GOSPEL VALUES AND PREVAILING U.S. VALUES

A. Content (by Rev. John Kavanaugh, S.J.)

### 1. Introduction

Any attempt to investigate the call to peace, whether it be on the level of high school or of continuing education, must be contextualized within a range of, broader values that sustain or militate against that of peace-making. For us, that context should be that of Christian revelation as opposed to what may be called the "book of revelation" of American culture." Both "gospels" have underlying images of US which reveal us to ourselves, tell us who we are and offer us means for self-realization and fulfillment.

The culture reveals humankind in terms of a dialectic of domination, operative as a philosophical model of human understanding and behavior; a political, socioeconomic environment; and a belief-system with cultic, dogmatic and moral ramifications. The dialectic manifests itself in as far-ranging instances as "deterrence-metaphysics," violence rituals, the mass-culture industries, advertising, sado-masochistic sexuality, commodification and mechanization of human needs and wants. Humans are related to each other through fear, force, threat, demand, control, manipulation, deception, and quantification.

The Gospel of Jesus stands unalterably opposed to such a revelation of man to himself. The human person's self-realization and affirmation are in terms of invitation, defenselessness, vulnerability, divestment; freedom, respect for absolute uniqueness of the human person, commitment and autonomous response, body-as-sacral-presence, and openness to the future as possibility.

If the conflict between the "dialectic of dominance" and the "logic of invitation" can be seen for what it is, the possibility of truly alternative ways of understanding people and of living hu-

man life can be offered for reflective option. The point is to see that the stakes are high, that there are implications to one's choices of immediate courses of action, that moral issues are inter-related in terms of underlying values, and that the values of Jesus are ineluctably opposed to the values of this culture (at least as it is manifested in some of its more pathological forms).

The more important task, possibly (and that which is yet to be done), is implementation. If there is such an opposition of dominance and invitation, how is it to be understood and communicated; and, more critically, what is to be done once understanding has occurred. A major suggestion is the formation of (Christian) communities of shared faith, social consciousness and action, and lived embodiment of the values of the Christian Gospel. See Part IV for a much fuller presentation of what it means to live peace and justice.

2. The contrast between present culture and the Gospel:

Present cultural values	Christian Values
a hardening of the "given" as criterion for ultimate value. Demanded allegiance in bondage.	rooted in faith and personal integrity; operative only in free response and invitation.
a sacred canopy of unquestionable, authoritative myth as the ultimate "court of appeal"--no deviation.	inevitably dependent upon our freedom to respond to our own possibility in risk.
Power-demand defense invulnerable retaliation having (possession) consumption capitalism control things political power technique replaceability body-machine	invitation defenselessness vulnerability forgiveness being divestment detachment freedom persons personal response content uniqueness body as a sacral presence
quality as quantity	quality non-measurable
retention escape competition present-past fact	letting go commitment benevolence future possibility

### 3. Manifestations of These Values in the culture

The "values of the culture" named above are not the only values we find in our culture. They represent certain predominant trends, visible in many ways in our society. Most of the examples below come from commercial advertising and from movements for change. These and other institutions reveal much about what our culture holds valuable.

Power-demand--ads do not inform us, or request our sales. They demand them, as in "Buy Hostess Twinkees." "You can't skimp when it comes to your children." National governments, too, rarely negotiate in any ways but those based on power and violence. Our government is no exception. Analyze the whole issue of the Panama Canal.

Defense & invulnerability--insurance is one of the most profitable types of corporations in the U.S. Almost everyone we know holds insurance. What would we do without it? We would need to do what poor people have always done--depend on each other to help out when catastrophe hits. Frightening thought, isn't it! So we defend our futures with money. We have the capacity to kill our enemies many times, yet defense is still the largest item in the Federal Budget. We expect that our overkill capacity makes us more invulnerable to the actions of those who fear or hate us.

Retaliation--the national movement for the reinstatement of the death penalty as a way to control crime. Analyze also the Mayagüez incident in 1975.

Having & consumption--the pervasive value that gives greater status to the person who owns more or consumes more. This value is expressed in most commercial advertising. Planned obsolescence--the manufacture of products intended not to last very long--increases purposely. Analyze images of "the good life" in commercials.

Private property & control--Property is becoming that for which people are willing to invest money, grieve, die, kill someone else. See WORLD HUNGER, pp. 134-35. The analysis of poverty as powerlessness and the need for a redistribution of power (pp. 110-13) illustrate the need to counteract the tremendous desire of individuals and institutions to control people. See especially MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 293-94. Arguments for abortion include the declaration of the right of the women to control her own body and to treat as her property the unique human fetus she carries. Analyze "Manifest Destiny" and the "Monroe Doctrine."

Things and body-machine--An ad for an exercise salon pictures a beautiful woman with a bare midriff. "After Elaine Powers' Salon, they won't talk about your personality anymore." Women become objects. See WOMEN.

Technique--A perfume label reads: "Sex appeal. We've bottled it. Now you don't have to be born with it." Teachers often prefer gimmicks rather than an exploration of the values underlying particular techniques.

Political power--We witness the increase of terrorism from the political left and political right, kidnappings, bombs, extortion.

Replaceability--"America, love it or leave it," the bumper sticker reads. The culture which poses only two options--rejection or total absorption--is no longer invitational. Planned obsolescence is relevant here too.

Quality as quantity--We have organized our culture efficiently around cars and speed, closing off for ourselves the vast human resource and recreation of walking and talking. The quality of our transportation has

shrunk to considerations of quantity. "More is better" and "the bigger the better" still dominate. The quality of life is measured by income.

Escape--Much, perhaps most, of the entertainment in our culture is escape. Harlequin Romance mysteries call themselves the world to escape to when commitments in the worlds of family and job oppress you. Witness the trend to giving up on previous commitments without really struggling to work things out. What are U.S. highways, to some extent?

Competition--our entire society is built around winners and losers--big business, academic grades, tests, ranks, professional sports. "We're number one!" becomes our national chant.

#### 4. Ways on Acting on Gospel Values

The Value	Action/Life-style Suggestions
invitation	Catholic Worker hospitality
defenselessness	War Resisters League; the United Farm Workers (see pp. 39-42)
vulnerability	Ban the B-1 Bomber campaign
forgiveness	(see pp. 228); prison reform; nonviolent conflict resolution (see pp. 23-26)
being divestment, detachment	simplicity projects; cooperative ownership (see pp. 337-41)
freedom	MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 285ff; civil disobedience, pp. 57-60.
persons.	sex roles; MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 283-92; and Pro-Life movement (all life issues)
uniqueness	respect for cultural differences and personal differences (see pp. 290-92; 153-56)
body-as-sacral presence	sex roles (see pp. 73-75)
quality-non-measurable	corporate responsibility projects (see pp. 342-43; 218)
benevolence	cooperative games (see pp. 295, 13); MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 301-14.
commitment	See SERVICE, pp. 323-38
future	See PEACE IS POSSIBLE, pp. 11-17

#### 5. Gospel Values as Elaborated in the Gospel according to Matthew:

Jesus' enemies are Herod, chief priests, and their slaughter of the innocents; the necessity for conversion and repentance, especially for the Pharisees and Sadducees (3:9-10);

the winnowing fan (3:12); not living by bread alone (4:1);

the temptation to glory, power, appropriation, escape; and the utter dependence on God, humility, obedience, and single-mindedness (4:6-9)

the invitations to us for following him (4:10);

"healing" us, especially through faith (4:23, 8:17, 8:28, 9:1-8, 9:18-34, 11:1-11, 12:9-14, 12:22-32, 14:13, 15:20-28, 17:14-20, 20:29-34);

the Evangelical Discourse with emphasis upon defenselessness, fidelity, gentleness,



justice, mercy, peacemakers, persecution, being the salt of the earth, being against anger, necessity of reconciliation, not returning evil for evil, offering the other cheek, divestment of possessions, loving enemies, non-pragmatic generosity (Chapter 5);

the Lord's prayer (6:10); having no earthly treasure, rejecting the mastery of money, the acceptance of defenselessness (6:19-34);

the call to tolerance, trust, invitation and trust (7:1-12);

the great commandment, having nowhere to lay his head (8:18); calming storms and the fright of men and disarming demoniacs (8:18-28) mercy for the tax-gatherers and sinners (9:10-13);

compassion for the harrassed and dejected crowd (9:36);

the Apostolic Discourse with the predictions of persecutions, division, the cross, the divestment of one's life, detachment. (Ch. 10);

alleviating burdens with gentleness and humility (11:28-33);

being greater than the Law and the temple (12:1-8);

being the Servant of Yahweh in hope, faith and loving-kindness (12:18-21);

the Parable Discourse: the sower with its message of openness, understanding and the conversion of the heart; of not being afraid of persecution or dominated by riches; the fullness of our smallness in the mustard seed, the yeast and the leaven; the conflict with the world; the singlemindedness of conversion; and Jesus' lowly origin (Chapter 13);

John's death at the hands of Herod (14:3-12);

the necessity for purity of heart (15:10-20);

The prediction of suffering and death, the necessity for renunciation, the self-vulnerability of the cross (16:21-28);

the Discourse on the Church: the greatest being the least, the necessity of being like children, the parable of the lost sheep, the need for brotherly correction, the forgiveness of injuries (Ch. 18);

the indissolubility of loving commitment in marriage, the importance of continence (19:1-13);

the rich young man, the danger of riches, the repunciation of power appropriation, the last being first (19:16-30);

generosity in the parable of workers in the vineyard (20:1-16);

the second and third predctions of the Passion (17:22-23; 20:17-19)

the call to service (20:24-28);

the entry into Jerusalem, the expulsion

from the temple because it was made into a robbers' den (21:12-16);

the confrontation with power and authority with the tax collectors and prostitutes being saved more easily than the powerful (21:23-27)

the killing of the son of the land-owner (21:33-46);

the invitation to free full-served response in the parable of the wedding feast (22:1-14);

rendering to God (not Caesar) what is God's (22:15-22);

the resurrection and the God of the "living" (22:23-33);

the identification of love for God with love for neighbor and it being the greatest commandment (22:34-40);

the indictment of the Pharisees for not living what they preach, putting heavy burdens on their fellow humans, their vanity, their lack of brotherhood (23:1-12);

the charges of enslaving other persons, of preferring gold and possessions to freedom, of neglecting justice, patience, faith, of being clean on the outside but full of extortion and intemperance, of murdering the prophets (23:13-32);

the Eschatological Discourse with its emphasis upon false Christs, division, being hated by the world in Jesus' name, of tribulation (24:4-24);

the necessity for vigilance, intense conversion and conviction (25:1-30);

the last judgment and the emphasis upon feeding the hungry, helping those who thirst, aiding strangers, the naked, the sick, those in prison, the neglected persons (25:31-46);

Jesus' betrayal (26:20);

the arrest, the friend-kiss, the open vulnerability and defenselessness, being buffeted and spat upon, Peter's denial out of fear (26:47-75);

mockery, foolishness, nakedness, being jested at for his trust in God, of desertion and the ultimate radical openness and vulnerability of the crucifixion (Chapter 27);

the victory of the resurrection over death, fear with the promise to be always with those who believe in him (Chapter 28).

## B. METHODOLOGY

1. These ideals have to be presented in an embodied way, through the example of contemporary persons--alternative heroes/models. Book 7 (Call to Liberty and Greatness) of the Bible Life and Worship series (allyn and Bacon, 1970), presents the models of Gandhi, Jonah, Teilhard de Chardin, Thomas More, Charles De Foucauld, Bonhoeffer, Jeremiah, Father Damien, and others. See also, listings under "Today's Peace-Makers" and "Prophets."

2. These ideals can really be understood only by doing them. Thus, the need to provide action/service outlets for your students. See suggestions listed under "Today's Peace-Makers" and LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE, pp. 329-38.

3. These ideals can only be kept really alive in community. Thus, the need to begin creating the experience of community among your students. See "Living Justice and Peace;" pp. 339-40.

4. These ideals will remain unreal unless the teacher himself/herself is trying to live them. The need, then, to begin to be a person of peace yourself. See "Today's Peace-Makers" and LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE.

5. A good idea would be to start with some value clarification work to find how much the students mirror the culture. Then brainstorming on the ways in which we reinforce the culture, even in our schools.

6. There is a real need to help students develop the resources to enable them to be different than others, than the culture. Being such a person yourself is a starter. Challenging the students to find and evaluate alternatives--presenting alternatives as viable. See life-style suggestions in the units on WORLD HUNGER GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, and the whole of Part IV.

7. Emphasize the forgiving love of Jesus, that He stays with us, no matter how far short of the ideal we fall. His accepting love and message of "peace" to the Apostles in the barricaded room on Easter Sunday evening, after they had deserted him only a few days earlier, is a powerful testimony of His forgiveness.

8. See "American Value System for methods for getting at the culture, as a contrast to the Gospel of Jesus.

#### C. RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

All listings under "Today's Peace-Makers" & "American Value System".

John Kavanaugh, S.J., "Christianity as Counter-Culture," (available at our Institute) is an elaboration of the outline above.

"The Gospel of the Culture and the Gospel of Jesus," a 60-minute tape (cassette) available at our Institute, presents the basic message of this unit.

Thomas Merton, Faith and Violence (relevant excerpts, available at our Institute, outline the basic principles and values underlying Christian nonviolence, in contrast with prevailing cultural values.

James Douglass, Non-Violent Cross (New York: Macmillan, 1966), examines the essence of Christian and Gandhian non-violent resistance and defends the possibility of effective nonviolence.

Resistance and Contemplation (New York: Doubleday, 1972). Selected chapters available at our Institute--explore the value system out of which nonviolence

must flow.

James McGinnis, "Religious Communities, the American Conscience and Consciousness," available at our Institute, examines the Gospel-culture tensions in the context of what religious communities are being called to in the world.

#### AMERICAN-VALUE SYSTEM

##### A. GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. In order to understand what role(s) we can play in working for peace in our society, we need to understand the forces and values that shape our society and us and that are working against us. We need to see the underlying systems (political, economic, social) that shape and are shaped by our American values.

2. To be neither overly critical or laudatory, but to help students think critically about the values that the culture presents. To proceed inductively, since the criticism should emerge from the students themselves as much as possible.

##### B. METHODOLOGY (again, the emphasis in this topic is on induction)

1. Find readings on the American hero and the American dream. Particularly effective are The Bear (Faulkner), Babbitt (Lewis), and Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. Brainstorm on TV/movie "heroes" (see pp. 323-24).

2. A good way to start such a section would be to have students write an essay on "What's Right with America" or "The American Dream," so that you don't start by tearing down something precious in their eyes. Ask about any difficulties in writing such an essay.

3. Get at American culture by presenting a different culture. Good in this regard is Nomads of the Jungle, a 20-minute film from St. Louis Public Library, on a tribe in New Guinea. Brainstorm on "what makes America different from other countries/cultures?" See suggestions in units on "Multicultural Education" and "China," especially ethnocentrism exercises, pp. 154-56.

4. See "Nation-Reality, Myth and Future" exercise under "Patriotism" (pp. 255) and essay on "What Does It Mean to Be an American" (pp. 256-57).

5. Examine the Federal budget for a clear picture of what the nation values. See enclosed flyer and the "National Classroom Budget" Exercise, pp. 229.

7. Take an issue like "amnesty" and ask for opinions, but more importantly get at the values underlying the students' opinions (see pp. 176-79).

8. Use television commercials, to see what values advertisers appeal to as a statement about who we are as a people. See unit on "Propaganda and Advertising." See also CAUSES OF WAR, pp. 223-24.

9. To accompany Faulkner's The Bear, use "Man the Hunter," a 5-minute slide presentation prepared by Professor Larry Baricevik, of St. Louis University's Communications Department (535-3300, Ext. 493).

10. "The Origins of American Values: The Puritan Ethic to Jesus Freaks," a film strip and record, prepared by the Center for Humanities, Inc., 2 Holland Ave., White Plains, NY 10602.

11. Have students collect newspaper articles proclaiming good news for America, and analyze the meaning of "good" (the values underlying the story), to get at how we view ourselves and our country. Have the students discuss their articles in small groups and select the most representative of American values.

#### 12. "Budgets 'N Stuff"

Middle grade teachers!!! Albert Mellen has written "Budgets 'n Stuff," a peace education unit on percent. It has about 115 problems on percent, plus 20 or so work sheets on budgets, discounts, and commissions. The problems are not all peace-related. In fact, most of them deal with class purchase of tickets to a sports event, the paper boy's commission, newspaper advertised specials, and family budgets. However, there is an excellent unit on the National budget which makes the point that any budget must have priorities and that we spend according to our priorities. Further, the unit encourages regular newspaper reading. Finally, a page is devoted to social studies questions and activities for the percent unit. The whole unit can be given to students to work through at their own pace. It covers 19 lessons. I think it is interesting and helpful supplementary material to have on hand in your classroom. Send \$3.00 to Center for Teaching about Peace and War, Wayne State University.

#### D. OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richard Westley, "Christian vs. American," 30-minute tape produced by the Thomas More Association (180 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60601) and available for borrowing at our Institute. Excellent on breaking down American Myths.

Leonard Hoffman, "American Value System" 45-minute tape available for borrowing at our Institute, that analyzes historically the development of U.S. values outlined above.

As Others See Us: International Views of American History (Houghton Mifflin, 1969). The major events in U.S. history as described in high school texts of other countries, some friendly to the U.S. and others not.

Eugene Toland, Thomas Fenton and Lawrence McCulloch, "World Justice and Peace: A Radical Analysis for American Christians," Maryknoll, 110 Charles St., Hingham, Mass. 02043. A 10-page critique of the myths of capitalism with an extensive bibliography. Also in Education for Justice (Orbis Press, 1975).

Philip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). Heavy, but a good analysis of the value system underlying a capitalist country.

Dick Gregory, No More Lies: The Myth and the Reality of American History (NY: Harper & Row, 1971).

The writings of Theodore Roszak, Robert Heilbroner, Herbert Marcuse, and others.

Science fiction is another creative way of getting at American values. The works of Arthur C. Clarke (particularly Childhood's End), Heinlein, and others (see BIBLIOGRAPHY on "PEACE IS POSSIBLE").

The writings and cartoons of Art Buchwald and Jules Pfeiffer are another creative way of exploring American values.

For a State Department view of the history of U.S. foreign policy, a view that is sometimes critical, see 3 films: "An Age of Revolutions" (the American Revolution through the Monroe Doctrine--16 mm, color, 31 minutes); "Youth to Maturity" (from Manifest Destiny to World War I), and "The Reluctant World Power" (from World War I through World War II). Rental free, by writing Department of State Film Library (Attn: Miss Nancy Mead, Films Officer), Room 4831, Washington, D.C. 20520.

For more information of the federal budget, write SANE, 318 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. For the budget itself, write for "Special Analyses, Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year, 1977, US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

## CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

## GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. Peace is often considered "un-patriotic," as is civil disobedience, conscientious objection, the United Nations, judging your country to be in an "unjust" war. Before being able to talk rationally about any of these topics, it is necessary to make sure that students realize that they are not necessarily incompatible with patriotism properly understood.

2. To puncture the myths of patriotism as a "love it or leave it" attitude and to see patriotism more in terms of devotion to the ideals of one's country.

3. To begin to come to grips with the tension between one's national identity and loyalty and one's global and Christian identity and loyalty. To understand just what are the duties of a Christian citizen.

CONTENT (Available in essay form, entitled "Christian Patriotism," by James McGinnis and for 25¢ from our Institute)

1. Christian perspective: our first loves must be God and the whole human family. God Himself has said to us that we can hardly love God if we do not also embrace the whole of God's family. "Human community" and "human solidarity" are the categories of the Christian. In its Pastoral Constitution, The Church in the Modern World, Vatican Council II proclaimed the norm of human activity: "that in accord with the divine plan and will, it should harmonize with the genuine good of the human race." (§35) This norm applies to citizens and countries, as well as to private individuals, for the document further elaborates:

"Citizens should develop a generous and loyal devotion to their country, but without any narrowing of mind. In other words, they must always look simultaneously to the welfare of the whole human family, which is tied together by the manifold bonds linking races, peoples and nations." (§75)"

See "Catholic Teaching on Social Justice," pp. 239-44. See also the last paragraphs of Julius Nyerere's "Communitarian Socialism," p. 98, for a similar universalist view of patriotism.

2. Three views as to whether a Christian can be a patriot:

a. Yes: "Render to Caesar..." means yielding to the State in temporal/political matters.

b. No: National self-interest is necessarily exclusive of the interests of the whole human community, necessarily selfish. The nation-state system must go.

c. Yes, if: If patriotism is seen as devotion to the ideals of one's country (vs. its every policy, many of which are immoral) and those ideals are consistent with the best interests of the whole human community.

3. The meaning of "love" and "country," since patriotism is usually defined as love of one's country.

a. Love means constructive criticism, working for improvement; and can never mean the blindness of "love it or leave it."

b. Country as national ideals vs. national realities/policies (often); as people vs. political leaders; as realities vs. symbols (some people are more concerned about such symbols as a flag than they are about what those symbols stand for).

## 4. Implications

a. Laws are meant to protect and promote values, and the values take precedence over the laws. Thus, civil disobedience can often be seen as fidelity to one's country.

b. It is the individual Christian, forming his conscience as best he can, who must judge whether one's country's practice or law in a given situation is inconsistent with its ideals.

c. In doubtful situations, it seems more consistent with self-interested character of national decisions to require the State to "prove" its case before participating, if the matter is of serious moral consequence. (See Reinhold Niebuhr in Moral Man and Immoral Society, for an analysis of individual altruism and national self-interest).

5. The responsibilities of Christian citizenship (see "Living Justice and Peace," pp. 34-43)

a. Love/service, but realizing that there are many forms of service. Thoreau's essay on "Civil Disobedience," identifies 3 forms of service:

"The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, jailers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense. Others, as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and officeholders, serve the State chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God. A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the State with their consciences also, and necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated by it as enemies."

Daniel Ellsberg, called by some a Benedict Arnold, is a perfect illustration of a man who has moved from Thoreau's second level of service to the third level.

b. Obedience, but intelligent obedience, respecting the values/ideals of one's country over practices/laws when the two are not in accord.



c. Support (taxes and otherwise) of one's country, but on a selective basis, again depending on what one is supporting.

#### 6. Other questions

a. In distinguishing between the ideals and the practices of one's country, who knows enough to judge when the practices fall short of or hurt the ideals?

b. Does patriotism mean trusting the judgment of one's political leaders in political matters at all times? In moral matters as well?

c. Do the judgments at Nuremberg apply to American Christians as well as to German Christians and do they have any implications for the discussion of patriotism?

d. What does "Render to Caesar..." imply?

e. Are granting "amnesty", selective payment of taxes, civil disobedience, unpatriotic? See amnesty essay, pp. 178-79.

f. If it is unpatriotic to desecrate the flag, isn't it more unpatriotic to desecrate the country, for which the flag is only a symbol, through such things as pollution, the waste of defense contracts, fraud, denial of civil rights?

g. What are the limits of "obedience"?

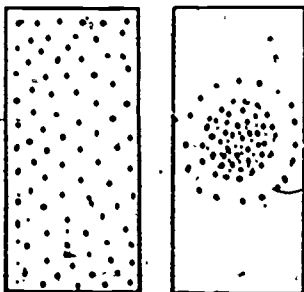
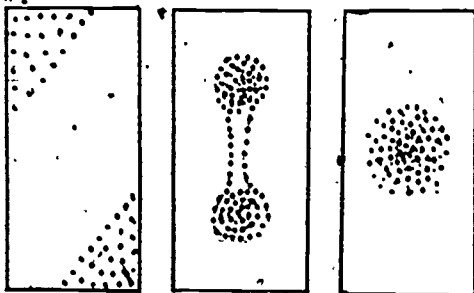
#### METHODOLOGY

1. Have the students write an essay before the class on "What Does It Mean to Be an American?" (See attached essay).

2. See activities on nationalism as it relates to war, pp. 225-26.

3. Visualize your Nation (Reprinted with the permission of Global Awareness Program and the Maryknoll Fathers.)

a. The Developer draws the five dot diagrams listed below either on a blackboard, on sheets which can be distributed to the participants, or on large cards which may be easily displayed to everyone in the room. Each diagram should be labeled; A, B, C, D, and E.



b. The Developer says:

"Look at these five drawings. They represent five different peoples' view of the UNITED STATES. Look at all five of the dotted diagrams and pick one dotted picture from the five which best expresses the way you see the United States today."

c. The Developer allows the participants time to think and choose one of the five dot diagrams. He then asks for a volunteer to give the class his view. The Developer would ask him why he picked this particular view and to describe a situation which gives the class a concrete example of what he is talking about.

d. The Developer would ask the other participants if any of them picked the same dotted diagram as that being discussed. If there are other people who picked it, he would ask them what the diagram meant to them and why. Eventually, an issue may arise and some of the following questions may be helpful:

Do you see this particular situation in your life?  
Does it affect only a few members of our society?  
Does it affect other problems in our society?  
What would you say are the major things effecting this issue?

e. After discussion has developed on one particular diagram, the Developer moves on to another diagram. He should find, of all the diagrams, which one most of the participants have selected, and deal with that one first. The following breakdown can help the Developer understand the diagrams:

- (1) Polarity, complete division
- (2) Separate groups with a few people in communication
- (3) Everyone together
- (4) Everyone equidistant-conformity
- (5) Group that hangs together but with a number of people on the margin

f. Having fully discussed the way the participants view the United States, now, the Developer introduces the following:

"We have looked at the United States as it is now. How about tomorrow. Look at the five dotted diagrams again. Which diagram expresses best for you what the country can be?"

g. Allow everyone enough time to pick a picture and then begin the same type of questioning as in steps three to five. However, questions that are directed to improving and changing society are introduced into the conversation.

How can you improve our country so that your view may come true?  
Can you give me concrete situations where we are improving our country?

#### 4. Ranking

Rank the following Americans on a "patriotic scale from "very patriotic" to "some-

what patriotic," or "not patriotic at all."

### Contemporary List

Ralph Nader  
J. Edgar Hoover  
Richard Nixon  
Fr. Daniel Berrigan  
Cesar Chavez  
Gen. William Westmoreland  
George Wallace  
Malcolm X  
Dorothy Day  
John Wayne  
Daniel Ellsberg  
William Calley  
Nelson Rockefeller

### Historical List

Henry David Thoreau  
Thomas Paine  
Chief Sitting Bull  
Gen. George Custer  
Andrew Carnegie  
Gen. Robert E. Lee  
Susan B. Anthony  
Andrew Jackson  
Frederick Douglass

Substitute persons more familiar to students, if you wish, depending on when you do such a list.

Have students identify those characteristics common to all falling in their "very patriotic" and "not patriotic at all" columns, and have them begin to work out an understanding of what it means to be a patriot from these common characteristics.

Do this exercise at the beginning of the section on patriotism and then repeat it at the end, comparing the two rankings. Have the students explain if and why they made any changes.

### OTHER RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society, pp. 91ff, discusses how individual selflessness and dedication are transformed by society to self-serving ends, with war-time as the prime example.

John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and Peace: An Historical Sketch," is a 20-page essay in which the struggle of American Catholics to be accepted as fully "American" is explained and the results of having to "prove themselves" as loyal when questionable wars were being fought.

Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," in Peter Mayer, ed., The Pacifist Conscience (Chicago: Regnery & Co., 1971), is his classic statement about true servants of their country being those who challenge it to become more moral.

Howard Zinn, Disobedience and Democracy: 9 Fallacies in Law and Order (New York: Vintage, 1968) is a rebuttal to Abe Fortas, Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience (New York: Signet, 1968), on a number of points (see pp. ), among them the necessity of radical challenges to the "system"--these are the real patriots.

John Sheerin, Peace, War and the Young Catholic, pp. 95-98, is a discussion of the aberration that he calls "super-patriotism," in the context of the absolute sovereignty of God in the life of believers.

William Nesbitt, Teaching About War and War Prevention, pp. 45ff, discusses nationalism and patriotism in relation to the causes of war.

Michael Harrington and Quentin Quade, in James Finn, ed., Conflict of Loyalties: The Case for Selective Conscientious Objection, for a discussion of selective tax payment and other such action as part of a patriotism that is compatible with Christianity.

Theodore Lentz, Humatriotism (Peace Research Laboratory, 6251 San Bonita, St. Louis, Mo. 63105) is a 1976 publication in which the concept and life-style of global citizenship is explored, partially through responses to questionnaires on where people in the U.S. are on the question of global interdependence.

### REFLECTIONS ON BEING AN AMERICAN

I am an American. I pay taxes (most of them, anyway). I vote. I served in the U. S. Army, National Guard. I own stock in American corporations. I got goose-bumps a few years ago when the National Anthem was played at a Russian-American track meet. I still get goose-bumps at certain marching songs. I've been to many Fourth of July celebrations. I even "went through proper channels" when I objected to war. I own property, a house, and live in a middle-class suburban neighborhood. I carry several credit cards, have occasionally eaten in fancy restaurants, love to watch football, take a vacation, go to church. I am an American. So are most of you and many of us are bothered by this. Why? What does it really mean to be an American?

Among other things, being an American can mean at least three levels of existence, one negative, one neutral, and the third positive. On the negative side, being an American means American Express Travel Cards and the wasteful restaurants, hotels, resorts that cater to the dollar around the world. It means exploiting others so that the American economy can continue to expand. It means suppressing those who resist this exploitation, whether it be done by arms sales to military regimes, counter-revolutionary moves in the Third World, or surveillance and harassment at home. It means welcoming those political refugees who see America as a haven for the

privileged position that was being taken away from them by the poor in their own country. It means controlling peoples' lives, through advertising, through the draft, through education as training youth to fit into pre-determined niches in society. It means worshipping the future, cultivating youth and forgetting them when they grow old and cease to be productive. It means super-competition where those who don't make it don't deserve to. It means nothing but frustration and harassment for those who stay and fight to change all this.

For many others, being an American is more of a neutral term. That is, "American" designates only a certain geographical location with the accompanying attitude of "in America but not of America." This attitude implies several things. First, it recognizes the serious problems and evils of this country. But it also recognizes that these evils exist elsewhere too and that there is no escaping situations where radical social change is imperative. Secondly, it implies a very pragmatic consideration. A person will be most effective in bringing about social change in areas with which he is familiar. Outsiders often don't really know the "territory," the forces within the community/society for either good or evil. It generally takes time, both to get into a situation in any understanding and influential way, and to bring about any lasting change. Concerned people must be long on perseverance. Despair comes easy. Thirdly, a person often works best where he is "most at home." This doesn't mean that this second kind of American is comfortable with all that's wrong. It merely means that a familiar culture, surroundings, people, etc., enable many people to focus more closely on the issues. Here, however, a qualification must be made. All of us recognized the necessity of "getting it together" for ourselves and that, if living in America meant that a person could not be the person he wanted to be, it might well be better to seek life and not just existence elsewhere.

The third usage of being an American is a positive one, but here there are generally more questions and doubts than answers. "All men are created equal...." "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...." "The land of the free...." "The last best hope...." "Of the people, for the people, and by the people...." Are these ideals dead? I have written that patriotism is a good when it is understood as "devotion to the ideals of one's country" (rather than to its every policy). I have often quoted Fr. Dan Berrigan to this effect, as he answers the following question raised by James Finn (in Protest, Pacifism and Politics):

"One more question. Do you think that with enough imagination the U.S. could find ways of protecting its interests without resorting to war?"

"Ah, now we're really talking! My answer would be an unqualified yes. I believe that will all my heart. That's the kind of credo I can still give to the American Revolution as continuing, viable, and experimental in the world. And your question also lies at the heart of my protest. I protest because I am an American and because I see in this war or other points of violence today the defeat and destruction of that which we had to offer the world and that which we had to offer our own continuing growth. Which is to say, the exportation, the internationalization, of the American experience."

Dan wrote this several years ago and many wonder whether he hasn't in fact despaired and concluded that these ideals are dead. We all ask this question, but most of us feel there is something here worth saving, worth fighting for--and not just the people here. All isn't lost yet, though the more that we conclude that all is lost, the more it's true--a self-fulfilling prophecy. For some, too, it can be a comfortable excuse not to keep plugging away. Moreover, the irreversibility of evil runs contrary to the Christian concept of us as redeemable and the Gandhian (and Christian) concept of our deep-seated openness to truth and the common good, though covered over with layers of fear, insecurity, mistrust, selfishness, and ignorance, and with centuries of violence, nationalism, etc.

There are thousands of people in the U.S. pressing for peace, for welfare rights, for radical changes in our judicial/penal system, for care of the environment. There are millions of others who aren't. But here are unknown numbers who can be mobilized around those who keep plugging away, who offer opportunities for others to join in the struggle and who serve as the necessary support for those who are afraid. There is one thought that keeps troubling me. Because of America's massive power and influence around the world, how wide would be the repercussions of whatever change we might be able to effect? There is hope, if...

B. THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES  
TOWARDS PEACE AND WAR
2. JUST-WAR THEORY
3. NONVIOLENCE (PACIFISM)
4. WAR AND MILITARY SERVICE



## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PEACE AND WAR

### GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. Historical overview is necessary to understand the current just war/pacifism spectrum of opinion within the church. The progress that has occurred since the Crusades should produce a sense of hopefulness.
2. It is important to have some understanding of the record of the church regarding its fidelity to and interpretation of the teachings of Jesus in order to fully appreciate the progress of recent times.
3. This helps the student realize that his own decisions relating to peace and war are big ones. Ones which even the church has had difficulty in making. In realizing the complexity of the issue(s), the student should also realize that he/she is a part of history.
4. It is extremely important that students realize that there are alternatives to saying yes to war and that the Church has not in fact always identified with war.

### CONTENT

1. Early Church Pacifism -- gospel purity, a people apart.

#### a.) New Testament (NT)

- 1.) Jesus -- talks of peace  
war is used only as an apocalyptic image  
war is to be fought only against the kingdom of Satan
- 2.) Paul -- peace is a gift of God
- 3.) Throughout NT -- emphasis is on inner conversion; peace flows from the inside out; the role of the Christian is to live in peace; no concern for the social order. Christians did not participate in the political scene.

#### b.) Immediate post NT period -- up to 170 A.D.

- 1.) Continuation of NT teaching; emphasis on the one to one relation to the neighbor.
- 2.) No mention of the role of the Christian vis-a-vis the military; probably not addressed because not a problem; Christians did not participate.

#### c.) Period from 170 A.D. to 313 A.D.

- 1.) Christians increased in number. They began to be criticized for their lack of participation in the military. Celsus, a pagan wrote: if all men acted as you do the empire would fall into hands of barbarians (Origen, Against Celsus, vol. 4 of the Ante-Nicene Christian library) Important: Christians are

rebuked for their lack of responsibility for the state. Origen answered this charge by saying that Christians help the kings by praying rather than by fighting. Important: Origen accepts the notion of Christian responsibility for the state. (244 A.D.)

- 2.) By the end of the third century military service was being condoned by some Christians. The justification was that the duty of defending the good belongs to the good man. Lactantius (304 A.D.) takes issue with this justification. He says that the motive for war is rarely defense of the good but usually the extension of territory and power. (The Divine Institutes, book 6 in the Ante-Nicene Christian library) Important: Christian service in the military is debated. It's inappropriateness is no longer taken for granted.

## 2. Fusion of the Church and the Roman Empire

### a.) Constantine and the ensuing politician/religious climate.

- 1.) 313 -- edict granting religious freedom to Christians.
- 2.) Constantine baptized on death bed.
- 3.) Results: new sense of unity between Church and empire  
new self identity for the Christian -- he belonged to the empire!
- 4.) Above themes in writings of the time

a.) Eusebius Church History, 325 A.D.; God is referred to as the friend, protector, and guardian of Constantine; Orations on Constantine; the ideal of New Testament harmony and concord is realized by this partnership of the Roman Empire and the Christian Religion.

b.) Jerome (latter half 4th century) -- the Pax Romana is the realization of the hope for peace expressed in the Old and New Testament.

### 5.) Further results:

- a.) Service to the empire came to be identified with service to God;
- b.) By the 5th century under Theodosius I those polluted by pagan rites were not allowed in the army; only Christians could serve.

- 6.) Yet, there were exceptions: Martin of Tours (3rd quarter of the 4th century) was the son of a veteran and therefore obliged to serve in the army; stayed in until forced into battle, then refused to fight; faced barbarian foes without arms and won them over; he was allowed to resign.

- 7.) Pacifism was coming to be seen as the vocation of the monks; N.B. movement from the Christians as a people apart to the monks as a people apart. Same basic notion of pacifism; difference lies in the role of the Christian within the empire.

### b.) The Just War Theory within Christianity -- its basis: worldly wisdom rather than Gospel purity.

#### 1.) Ambrose (end of the 4th century)

a.) defense of the empire = defense of Christianity; the barbarian enemies were often Arians.

b.) conditions of war: its conduct must be just; the suppliant is to be spared; good faith should be observed with the enemy.

c.) war could be justified from the Old Testament.

d.) pacifism should be practiced in the private sphere: one man should not harm another, and in the clerical sphere: clergy should not fight in the army.

2.) Augustine -- early 5th century

- a.) Christian perfection is not possible on earth; therefore, peace is not possible on earth.
- b.) the Christian empire is just; therefore, it should be defended;
- c.) further conditions of the just war: just intent; disposition of Christian love; should be waged under proper authorities.

3. Church in the Middle Ages

a.) Breakdown of just war practice

- 1.) Breakdown of government
- 2.) Clergy and prince -- one and the same person -- clergy in wars.
- 3.) Church tried to limit war: Peace of God and Truce of God; problem of enforcing these led to further use of armies.

b.) The Crusades -- wars conducted under the auspices of the Church for a holy (rather than just) cause.

- 1.) No trace of the Augustinian spirit of love
- 2.) Just conduct not observed
- 3.) Religious orders formed for battle: Templars, Hospitalers, Knights of St. John.
- 4.) Spirit of religious fervor rather than of worldly wisdom.

c.) Reinstatement of just war theory -- 13th century St. Thomas Aquinas -- added notion that the good accomplished must outweigh the evil done.

4. Reformation -- recapitulation of the three positions

a.) Luther -- just war theory

- b.) Calvin -- spirit of the crusade -- concept of the religious commonwealth
- c.) Anabaptists -- return to the early Church position of pacifism -- Christians were to be a people apart -- no involvement in political life.
- d.) A new strain -- the Quakers -- pacifism combined with active political working for peace.

5. The Churches of the United States

a.) Spokesmen for pacifism

- 1.) Adin Ballou -- leader of the New England Non-Resistance Society -- 1838 -- gospel purity -- no involvement in politics.
- 2.) William Ellery Channing -- 19th century New England preacher -- pacifist who believed that Christians should participate in the affairs of State.
- 3.) A.J. Muste -- World War I Dutch Reformed pastor -- spokesman for the pacifist conscience.

b.) Record of leading Roman Catholic bishops regarding attitudes toward war:

- 1.) John Carroll -- supported Revolutionary War and War of 1812.
- 2.) John Hughes -- supported Mexican-American War -- extolled Catholics for being willing to fight even against their fellow Catholics in Mexico.
- 3.) John Ireland -- supported Spanish-American War; opposed pacifists of time.
- 4.) James Gibbons -- led American bishops to be the first group of religious leaders to pledge its support for World War I.
- 5.) Francis Spellman -- compared the dying soldier of World War II to the dying Christ; during the Korean War saw the communists as the present day manifestation of the powers of darkness.

c.) Past 10 years -- change in attitudes of Roman Catholic leaders toward war.

See Supplement to this unit.

## METHODOLOGY

1. "On Trial: An American War (Just War vs. Spanish-American War)". See unit on "Just War Theory".
2. Trial of a person claiming to be a selective conscientious objector or a conscientious objector who has just committed an act of civil disobedience or some similar "offense". (It would be good to find such a person in your community and ask him to be present). The charge: in general, failure to fulfill one's political responsibilities as a citizen.
  - a. Witnesses for defense and prosecution:
    - 1.) an early Christian, perhaps Origen
    - 2.) St. Augustine
    - 3.) Bernard of Clairvaux
    - 4.) a contemporary pacifist
  - b. Opening statements

After the defendant describes his action to the court (class), each of the witnesses should read an opening statement (representing a selection from their writings on peace/war. See Albert Marrin, War and the Christian Conscience, pp. 30-35 for Origen; pp. 52-67 for Augustine; pp. 78-83 for Bernard. The statement of the Catonsville Nine -- see unit on "Civil Disobedience" -- could be used for the contemporary pacifist).

d. Lawyers (the teacher, preferably, unless student(s) are exceptionally sharp) would then cross-examine the witnesses, getting them to elaborate on the historical position they represent. Students in the class should also be able to question the witnesses, and the teacher should be prepared to help answer the questions.

d. Some students could be reporters or editors from local papers writing about the trial, or TV news commentators.

e. The defendant, if time allows, should comment on the adequacy or inadequacy of the positions of each witness and why.

### 3. Human "Time-Line"

Give each student a concise description of the position of the Church on peace/war in his time period. Ask the students to research that period enough that they can perhaps make costumes and compose a "ditty" representing their position (e.g., "Peace with honor, that's our cry; v - i - c - t - o - r - y.") Have the entire room build an unfolding time-line, in costume, presenting their ditty. Then build on the attention you can give to individuals to elaborate on the situation in each period. Ask the students if they recognize recurring similarities to the position they represent.

### 4. Panel on the varieties of pacifism

If a separate session is held on just-war theory, and time permits, it would be good to have a separate session on the varieties of pacifism within the Church's history. A panel representing such persons/groups as 16th century Anabaptists, Quakers (and A.J. Muste), Adin Ballou (absolute pacifist), Albert Schweitzer, the Mennonites, Unitarians (perhaps W.E. Channing), Gordon Zahn, Thoreau, Martin Luther King, Dorothy Day, Cardinal Cushing, Pope John XXIII, Dan and Phil Berrigan.



## RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Pearl and the Seed (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971) is an excellent series for elementary and junior high -- presenting short, generally biographical readings on persons representing ideas:

Book I -- "Coffee Break" (pp. 30ff) -- Christians and the military in the early Church.

Book II -- "From Swamps to Golden Meadows" (pp. 12ff) -- The Knights Templar and St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Book II -- "The Crusades: Holy War" (pp. 46ff).

Book III -- "Supplement/The American Scene" (pp. 46ff)

Book III -- "For God and Country" (pp. 46ff) -- Catholics, as a minority, needing to prove their patriotism.

Book III -- "A Catholic Chaplain with the Union Army" (pp. 48ff)

Book IV -- "A Christian Protest" (pp. 14ff) -- story of the Austrian conscientious objector, Franz Jagerstatter, killed by Hitler.

Book IV -- "No More War! War Never Again!" (pp. 36ff) -- Pope Paul VI at the United Nations.

Write Sr. Helen Garvey, World Without War Council, Berkeley, for a critique of this series. It is also printed in our Strategy Guide For Schools And School Systems (\$3.00)

"War and the Christian Conscience" -- filmstrip produced by the Thomas Klise Co.

Albert Marrin, War and the Christian Conscience (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1971).

### Pamphlets for students and teachers:

Joseph Fahey, Peace, War and the Christian Conscience (The Christophers, 12 E. 48th St., New York 10017).

Patrick McDermott, Christian Tradition and Peacemaking Today, (Division on World Justice and Peace, USCC).

John Tracy Ellis, American Catholics and Peace (Division on World Justice and Peace) -- also available as one of many essays in The Family of Nations (Huntington, Indiana, Our Sunday Visitor, 1969).

### For student reading:

Timothy McCarthy, War? (Winona, Minn.: St. Mary's College Press, 1970).

John B. Sheerin, Peace, War and the Young Catholic (Paulist Press, 1973), Part III is a good 12-page summary of the development of the Christian attitude(s) toward war.

Roland Bainton, Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace (NY: Abingdon, 1960), perhaps the best lengthy summary.

For teacher reading:

Arthur and Lila Weinberg (eds), Instead of Violence (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), particularly Erasmus, "Against War", William E. Channing's essay.

Stuaghton Lynd (ed), Nonviolence in America (NY: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), collection of essays including Adin Ballou; "Christian Non-Resistance"; A.J. Muste, "On Holy Disobedience"; and many others.

Peter Mayer, (ed), The Pacifist Conscience (NY: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1966), another anthology, including Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience"; Dorothy Day, "The Pope and Peace"; and many others.

Thomas Merton, Faith and Violence (Notre Dame Press, 1968); excellent, among the other reasons, for its concise explanation of the principles of Christian non-violence and for its essay on Franz Jagerstatter.

Francis Stratman, War and Christianity Today (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1956).

Gordon Zahn, War, Conscience and Dissent (NY: Hawthorn, 1967).

## JUST-WAR THEORY

### GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. After listing the basic criteria of a "just war", to test their applicability not only to modern war, but also to other conflicts.
2. American Catholic tradition recognizes the legitimacy of the position of "Selective Conscientious Objection" which requires that a young man distinguish between just and unjust wars.

### CONTENT

#### 1. Introduction

- a.) Just-War Theory is not in praise of violence, but asks "What are the limits within which the use of armed force is justifiable?"
- b.) Just-War Theory recognizes the sinfulness of man, especially in national groups, and finds Non-Violence "naive" on human nature.
- c.) A war is unjust if only one is not adhered to.

#### 2. Criteria for judgment the justice of a war.

- a.) Right intension or just ends (the restoration of justice, love of fellow-man, peace).
- b.) Just Cause.
  - 1.) Self-defense and as a last resort, recognizing the obligation to create alternatives whenever possible. This is an extremely important point. The class should discuss carefully the seeking of alternate means of meeting aggression before it escalates into violence, such as: re-examining military training; re-examining electing officials who will promote self interest rather than the good of the whole; re-examining our own nationalism and the means we have to promote the United Nations; re-examining our own creation of justice which might prevent people from having to turn to arms in order to fight oppression.
  - 2.) International law and Pacem in Terris (Pope John XXIII) on the rights of nations offer a catalog of "just causes".
- c.) Just Means.
  - 1.) Immunity of civilians - questions of anti-personnel weapons and things like My Lai could be raised here. The NARMIC slides on the "Automated Air War" in Indo-China are an excellent presentation on anti-personnel weapons.

2.) Proportionality - the negative consequences must not outweigh the positive ones. Further, one must "intend" only the positive ones and they cannot come from the negative ones (principle of double effect).

3.) Military necessity - the end or cause must be just and a given military action necessary for the achievement of that end.

d.) Assurance of a chance of success - the violence must not be used in a hopeless situation. This is difficult to apply in the present sit where a nuclear strike capability can be maintained even if 3/4 of one's country/resources is destroyed.

e.) Declaration of public authority - revolution is an exception today. Also, a formal declaration of war need not be the only manifestation of public authority.

### 3. Difficulties

a.) The application of these criteria requires much information about a given situation, information few have. Thus, it is necessary to work with those criteria most easily determined. It seems the "just means", particularly civilian immunity, and perhaps proportionality, might be the best approach - also last resort.

b.) Although it might be claimed that we are morally responsible only to the extent of our information, the obligation to be informed must be stressed, especially if a person is being asked to kill.

c.) A real question is helping students determine who to trust in terms of what information is accurate. Refer back to the criteria for who is a "prophet", p. 245.

## METHODOLOGY

### 1. Application

a.) A panel of reactions to the application of the criteria to existing situations would be helpful.

### b.) Possible Situations

1.) Spanish-American War (See below - "On Trial: An American War").

2.) United States in Vietnam; use that part of the NARMIC slides pertaining to anti-personnel weapons. Also use the American Bishops statements of 1967, 1968, 1971 and 1972.

3.) Inter-personal situations to point out the difference between proportionate self-defense and revenge.



## 2. Alternatives

### a.) Proceed inductively:

Divide your class into groups representing government, military, business, middle class persons, etc. Work on the problem of when (if ever) should our country and our group take part in violence on a national and international scale. What criteria will your country use to control or limit violence, arms? Possibly even have a group representing a threatening foreign power. Work through the problem of what criteria should be used and then compare them with traditional just-war theory.

### b.) On Trial: An American War" - "Just War vs. the Spanish-American War",

A 30-minute play-let, which places a specific war on trial in a courtroom setting, using a Just War criterion. The play-let is designed for use by adult educators, classroom teachers, clergy/religious/lay discussion groups, chaplains (campus and military), or by any five persons, who are gathered together, willing to examine some attitudes and preconceptions about war and peace in a Christian context.

Available for 50c through the Division of World Justice and Peace, United States Catholic Conference.

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John B. Sheerin, Peace, War and the Young Catholic (New York: Paulist Press, 1973), \$1.25 - excellent chapter on just-war criteria and their application, particularly to S. E. Asia - geared to high school students as well as adults. Good bibliography.

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War Crimes: U.S. Priorities and Military Force. (A report of the National Inquiry Group from the Ecumenical Witness conduct by leaders of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish communities on the war into Indochina and its heritage. New York: Friendship Press, 1972). Available at Department of International Affairs, the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Dr., New York 10027, \$1.00.

Casualties of Vietnam (The May/June 1973 issue of Friends magazine, published by the United Presbyterian Church USA, and available at Room 200, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107).

"The Automated Air War", slide presentation produced by the National Action Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC) and available through American Friends Service Committee offices (and locally at the Institute for the Study of Peace).

These last three citations would be especially valuable for assessing the justice/injustice of the United States involvement in the Indochina War.

## NONVIOLENCE (PACIFISM)

### GOALS AND RELEVANCE

To help the student realize that pacifism has had a long tradition within the American Catholic Church as well as in all of Church history; to help counteract the idea that Catholics cannot be conscientious objectors.

To find ways in which to make nonviolence a realistic alternative for students who are exposed to little else besides violent resolutions to conflict.

### CONTENT

See CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, especially the Special Focus on the United Farm Workers, pp. 39-42.

See TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS and the Special Focus on the Prophets, pp. 245-47, for specific examples of other persons living non-violence.

See the following essay, "The History of Pacifism in the American Catholic Church," by Noel Hackmann Barrett.

### METHODOLOGY

See CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, the Special Focus on the United Farm Workers, pp. 39-42.

### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See all listings under GOSPEL CALL TO PEACE AND JUSTICE, THE MEANING OF PEACE, TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS, LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE.

272

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## THE HISTORY OF PACIFISM IN THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

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The topic of pacifism in the American Catholic Church will be approached through a series of three steps: first, I will consider the meaning of pacifism by investigating the various forms it has taken in the history of Christianity and the varieties and implications of pacifism in the present; secondly, I will present an overview of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, attempting to show to what extent the situation within the Church was or was not conducive to pacifist stances at different points in history; emphasis will be given to the leadership of key bishops at each of these points and the development of peace movements with the Church will be outlined; lastly, I will discuss the new emergency of leadership for peace from members of the hierarchy and from groups and individuals within the American Catholic Church during the past five years.

### PART I - The Pacifist Position

Pacifism, as it appeared in the early history of Christianity, often embodied not only opposition to war but also a dissociation from political life as a whole and a despair of the world and of its society. This type of radical pacifism was prevalent in the early church up to the time of Constantine when Christians began to play an active role in the political life of the Roman Empire. The pacifism of the early church was derived from an effort to apply to social life what was accepted to be the mind of Christ and the new scale of values which He had brought.

The New Testament concept of peace is primarily the peace which is a gift of God. It is a creative and dynamic peace with God and within oneself. This inner peace gives to the Christian the power to bring peace and life and joy to his fellow man. Christians were exhorted to display lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearance, "endeavoring to keep the unity of Spirit and the bond of peace."<sup>1</sup> These early Christians took seriously the command to "resist not evil, turn the other cheek, go the second mile."<sup>2</sup> New Testament pacifism, then, centers on a yielding of the spirit rather than on working concretely for social plans to establish world peace.

Up to the time of Constantine no Christian author approved of Christian participation in battle, though there were a few Christians in the army. The reason for this Christian opposition to warfare is sometimes thought to be primarily a fear of idolatry, or the imminent expectation of the eschaton, or a conviction that Christians should spend their time and energy warring against spiritual enemies rather than human enemies. However, Roland Bainton convincingly shows that the most fundamental reason for objection to Christian involvement in battle is the firm belief that there is an insurmountable incompatibility between killing and Christian love for the neighbor.<sup>3</sup> The early Christians saw the taking of another's life to be diametrically opposed to the basic tenet of their belief, namely, that the following of Christ involved love for the neighbor. The Christian attitude toward the military was, in some cases, not a total condemnation of military service as such but only a condemnation of the taking of life. Policy-type military service could be permitted.



Beginning in the fourth century Christian attitudes went through a series of changes from emphasis on pacifism to an acceptance of the just war, mainly between the Roman Empire and the invading barbarians, and finally to the acceptance of the crusade which was seen as a holy war. The change from the pacifist position to the concept of the holy war was a complete about face. The pacifist of the early church saw his response to Christ to involve an abstention from war; the crusader saw his response to Christ to involve active participation in war.

With the sixteenth century came a return to the theme of peace. Erasmus wrote in 1514 that war and violence are contrary to the nature of man. The bodies of animals, according to Erasmus, are equipped for fighting. They have sharp teeth, sharp claws, horns, hard skin. But man, in contrast, is all tenderness and softness. Erasmus, therefore, concluded that fighting was contrary to the nature of man and judged it to be wrong.<sup>4</sup>

A second source of sixteenth century pacifism was the newly formed sects. The Anabaptists held the view that Christian life should be based on the Sermon on the Mount. They felt that the Church should be restored to its original purity as found in apostolic times and that it had been contaminated at the time of Constantine when the two kingdoms of church and state had been fused. The Anabaptists refused not only participation in war but also held themselves aloof from involvement in government and society. The Quakers also opposed war but were willing to participate in social and political life. The Quakers based their opposition to war on their following of Christ but were also willing to speak their position in terms of justice and humanity. They put for the pragmatic consideration that war as a method did not seem effective in the achievement of peace.

A new emphasis on peace came in the nineteenth century in the form of the first organized international effort to work politically for peace. The forces for peace were divided between those who sought peace through some form of world government and those who renounced all use of force. Within the United States, membership in peace societies was drawn mostly from the Quaker, Unitarian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches.<sup>5</sup> The new thrust toward peace was brought to an end with the outbreak of World War I. In the United States, churchmen of all faiths rallied to the support of the war. The attitude became that of the crusade; the United States was fighting a holy war to make the world safe for democracy. However, the peace movements of the nineteenth century did plant seeds and their beginnings were to be continued into the twentieth century. Many of the various peace groups found within today's world are related to the different peace proposals formulated during the last century.

Pacifism, as it has been emerging in current centuries has taken different forms. One type of pacifism is an absolute pacifism and a nineteenth-century example of this absolute pacifism can be seen in the person of Adin Ballou. Ballou saw war as a form of sin and advocated Christian nonresistance "which was enjoined and exemplified by Jesus Christ, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament."<sup>6</sup> Ballou went on to say that the true Christian non-resistant "cannot kill or maim another even in self defense, participate in any groups (army, government, etc.) oriented toward absolute personal injury such as war or capital punishment, or encourage another to an act of absolute personal injury. Ballou's motivation was both his Christian principles and human prudence. He felt that the enemy was actually much less likely to harm his adversary if met with non-resistance than if met with violence."<sup>7</sup>

Another example of absolute pacifism was Albert Schweitzer. For him the pacifist stance was based on the principle of reverence for life. Pacifism involved not only the negative aspects of refraining from doing injury to another but also the positive actions of preserving and enhancing life. His convictions regarding the importance of human life led him to renounce his careers in music and theology in Europe and take up the practice of medicine in Africa.

Absolute pacifism is also seen to be the position of the Mennonite Church in the United States. As a descendent of the reformation Anabaptist Church, the Mennonite faith has emphasized a total commitment to the moral ideal of love as taught in the New Testament. Their primary motivation is not the effecting of social change but a personal fidelity to Christ. They have not tried to amass social or political support for the pacifist position or to devise plans to stop war. Rather they have emphasized individual testimony to peace and have been willing to leave the course of history to the providence of God.

The passive pacifism of the Mennonites is certainly in contrast to the modern activist peace movements. Yet, these too do have their forerunners in earlier peace movements. The Quaker Church has already been cited as an example of a peace church which has played an active role in political life and has attempted to bring the standards of Christian morality to bear on the corporate life of man.

Nonviolence as a means of effecting social change was a position also espoused by a nineteenth-century New England Unitarian preacher, William Ellery Channing. Channing considered it to be the duty of the Christian to make moral decisions in regard to the actions of the government. The Christian, according to Channing, had the responsibility to make a judgment concerning the justice of a war and to resist a war which he considered to be unjust.

In more recent times Thomas Merton, the Roman Catholic Trappist monk, has given an exposition of Christian nonviolent resistance. According to Merton, the violence which needs to be combatted today is not merely the messy and obvious physical violence but is more especially white-collar violence, the systematically organized bureaucratic and technological destruction of man. Christian nonviolent resistance responds with conscious care given to both its means and its end. The end is always the good of those who are suffering and the defense of truth and right; the end can never be a selfish one. The means used in Christian nonviolence must be respectful of an open to the adversary. Manipulation of others in order to get quick results is not acceptable. Christian nonviolence is based on the gospel and is oriented to the good of all men. It rests on obedience to the New Testament command of love. Christian nonviolence trusts the basic goodness of man because it trusts God; it trusts the eventual fulfillment of its attempts because it trusts Christ's promise of the kingdom.

The above examples of recent variations of pacifism have in common a continuation, in some form, of the early ideal of total pacifism. In contrast to these absolute forms of pacifism, there are many today who espouse what could be called a relative pacifism. The basis of this latter pacifism is not a total commitment to avoid all war of any kind. Rather it is based on the unique situation of modern times and the unique means of warfare available in these times. The relative pacifist is actually one who accepts the just war theory but who concludes that in modern times a just war is no longer possible. One of the tenets of the just war theory is that there must be justice on one side only. Yet history shows

that each side usually regards itself as just and the opponent as unjust. Just war theory states that there should be a proportionality between the evil done by the war and the good to be gained from the war. Yet, recent wars have used obliteration bombing and atomic weapons. It is hard to see a proportionate good. Just war theory holds that there must be a moral certainty that the cause of justice will emerge victorious, but the massive destruction done to both sides in recent wars makes it difficult to see that there is any real victor in war. Just war theory indicates that the means used in warfare are to be within the limits of justice and love; yet, recent wars abound in examples of atrocities on both sides. Just war theory requires a respect for the safety of noncombatants; in recent wars many innocent people have been killed or wounded. In the light of these inconsistencies, many question the possibility of a just war in our time.<sup>10</sup>

Some relative pacifists propose an alternative to war for insuring international safety. One such proposal is internationalism, the advocacy of an international force which would ultimately guarantee peace through the formation of an effective world government. Trust is placed in agreements between nations and in the power of the international governing body to enforce such agreements should one side fail to uphold them.<sup>11</sup>

Another proposal is unilateralism. Here the ideal is multilateral disarmament but the realistic problem of beginning somewhere is faced squarely. The United States, as the first nation to use nuclear arms in war, is seen to have a special obligation to take an initiative in the process of disarmament. Gordon Zahn, one of the advocates of this position, feels the United States should at least publicly affirm the principle of total disarmament, renounce further first use of nuclear weapons, and publish a schedule for their elimination. He feels that disarmament procedures should be supervised by agencies not connected with national defense.<sup>12</sup>

Pacifism, for those who have lived it in any of its variations at any point in history has brought certain implications into personal life. One of these implications is the position of conscientious objector. Perhaps the first great figure to assume this stance during a time when it was considered acceptable for Christians to participate in war was Martin of Tours. St. Martin was a fourth-century Christian leader who withdrew from the army of the emperor Julian saying, "I am a soldier of Christ; it is not lawful for me to fight."<sup>13</sup>

In the United States the Quakers have been the strongest group of conscientious objectors and, in general, have not been accepted by American society. A prominent U.S. World War I spokesman for the pacifist conscience was A. J. Muste, a Massachusetts Dutch Reformed pastor who resigned from his pastorate in preference to keeping silent in regard to his pacifist convictions. Muste saw the pacifist conscience to be in opposition not only to war, but also to conscription which he saw as government coercion of young men into a military regime. He advocated total non-cooperation with state preparation for war.<sup>14</sup>

A second implication of the pacifist stance is often civil disobedience. Henry David Thoreau in 1848 wrote a lecture which has become one of the most famous statements regarding civil disobedience. Thoreau opposed the war with Mexico and refused to pay taxes to support the war. Thoreau emphasized, "We should be men first and subjects afterwards." Right is to be put before law. A man should not surrender his conscience to a legislator, for if he does this, then what point is there in even having a conscience of his own. Thoreau

advocated a nonviolent revolution according to a very simple procedure: subjects should refuse allegiance and officers should resign their offices.<sup>15</sup>

Martin Luther King is a key contemporary example of a man whose commitment to nonviolence led him to civil disobedience. Dr. King saw the injustices suffered by blacks in the South and chose to protest these injustices with non-violent methods of sit-ins and boycotts. Dr. King believed also in the application of nonviolent resistance to international conflicts.

The examples of pacifist leaders in history and the implications of pacifism for both personal life and for society are many. The brief and selective sketch given above cannot claim to be a total picture of pacifism but does provide some general notions of what pacifism is and how it shows up in the lives of men.

## PART II - Attitudes Toward War and Peace in the History of the American Catholic Church

Having presented a brief overview of pacifism, it is now appropriate to move to the next consideration, attitudes toward war and peace within the Roman Catholic Church in the history of the United States. The development of these attitudes will be shown within a context of the cultural problems facing the Church during its development in the United States. Special emphasis will be placed on the leadership of key bishops; peace movements within the Church will be treated.

The history of the United States actually goes back further than its birth as a nation. Its real starting point can be located in colonial New England, a land settled mainly by those who pursued religious freedom yet brought with them the religious prejudices of their homeland. The anti-Catholic bias was significant among these prejudices. There were actually only a small number of Catholics living in these colonies, yet there was frequently proscription against them. The outbreak of the Revolutionary War was for the Catholic colonists an opportunity to prove their kinship with their fellow colonists. The Catholics were equals in the shared struggle. Two of their number, Charles Carroll and Father John Carroll, were even sent on a special mission to Canada to attempt to secure support for the colonies. Their mission did not succeed, but it did have the psychological effect of saying to the rest of the colonists, "We're accepted!" Catholics, then, in their eagerness to be accepted by their fellow colonists were not at all prone to oppose the war for reasons of conscience.

John Carroll later became the first bishop of the new world and concentrated on showing to the people of the new nation the complete compatibility between the Catholic Church and the new country of the United States. He wanted the Church of the U.S. to be free of any European ties. When the time of war came again in 1812, Carroll gave his unqualified public support to the war. However, there is some indication in his private correspondence that he did have some personal reservations regarding the war.<sup>16</sup> Carroll's patriotism seems to have had priority over his personal opinion. He rallied his people to support the war effort thus providing Catholics with another opportunity to reaffirm their loyalty to their country.

The next hundred years in the history of the United States were to show that the acceptance won by the Catholics during the forming of the nation was tentative. During the first half of the nineteenth century new problems arose for the



Catholic Church and renewed suspicions. The nation was beginning to become conscious of itself and proud of its democratic form of government, yet, the Catholic Church within that nation still held to its hierarchial form of government and even had, as its top official a foreigner.

Furthermore, during this period there were many immigrants to the U.S. primarily from Catholic nations. Thus, many of the clergy and many of the lay Catholics were also foreign born. The established Catholic Church worked doubly hard to offset this suspicion and to prove how "American" and how loyal these new Catholic citizens actually were. The Catholic Church devoted itself to Americanizing its new members. It worked through its schools, charitable institutions, and press not only to spread the good news of Christ but also to develop the highly extolled virtue of patriotism. The Mexican-American War of 1846 was seen by the Catholic hierarchy and people as an especially good chance to show that their religious beliefs were no obstacle to their patriotism. Catholics within the army were willing to fight their fellow Catholics in Mexico to uphold the cause of their country. Two Catholic priests were even asked to serve as chaplains to the troupes in Mexico. Wartime again overcame religious prejudice and brought solidarity. Bishop John Hughes of New York, a leading figure in the Church of the time articulated forcefully this proof of loyalty through battle:

*If any say you are disloyal to the country, point to every battle from the commencement of the country, and see if Catholics were not equal in the struggle, and as zealous to maintain the dignity and triumph of the country as those with whom they fought! Nor was it, in the contest with Great Britain alone, against whom it was supposed we have an hereditary spite, but against Catholic Mexico they fought with equal courage. Although they aimed the point of the sword at the breast of their brother Catholics, they aimed it not the less, and in every contest they endeavored to maintain liberty as well as right.*<sup>17</sup>

Again during the Civil War Bishop Hughes emphasized the war as an opportunity for Catholics to prove their loyalty. He quieted draft rioters in New York and urged military conscription. In his view there was one rule for the Catholic, wherever he may be: to do his duty as a citizen.

Another Church leader who began his service during the Civil War was John Ireland of St. Paul. He served as a chaplain during the Civil War; throughout his career as a priest and bishop he emphasized patriotism as a Catholic virtue. Ireland proclaimed, "In the eyes of the Church loyalty to country is loyalty to God" and "The patriot dying for his country wears the halo of the martyr."<sup>18</sup>

When the United States became involved in controversy with Spain, Archbishop Ireland's sympathies were initially with Spain; however, once the war broke out the archbishop gave his wholehearted support to the American government and proclaimed the war to be a glorious manifestation of unity among American people. He explicitly opposed pacifists both during the Spanish-American War and again in 1908, stating at this latter time that the best way to have peace is to be ready for war.<sup>20</sup> The American Catholic population apparently responded to leadership such as Ireland's. For example, during the Spanish-American War Catholics constituted about 1/7 of the total population and from 1/4 to 1/3 of the armed forces.

One of Archbishop Ireland's contemporaries, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, did take a somewhat dimmer view of hyper-patriotism. He saw uncritical

acceptance of the nationalistic spirit to be a danger and stressed the putting of love of truth and justice and righteousness before love of country. He felt that intense patriotism could be narrow and intolerant. Spalding saw democracy as a means, not an end, and emphasized that religion cannot simply be identified with democracy for religion must reach out to the transcendent.<sup>21</sup> Although Bishop Spalding did speak out from time to time against a blind loyalty to country, his leadership in this regard did not seem to have had the same impact as that of the bishops who were simply identifying Catholicism and Americanism. In fact, John Tracy Ellis, in a book devoted entirely to Bishop Spalding, fails to mention this aspect of his work.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that Bishop Spalding himself came from an old established American family whereas many of his predecessors and fellow bishops were foreign born. Perhaps Spalding was free to criticize the government because he was secure in regard to his acceptance in American society and felt no need to be continuously demonstrating his loyalty.

The turn of the century and the coming of World War I, in general, saw Catholics still wrestling with the problem of assimilating great numbers of immigrants and still trying to prove their patriotism. James Cardinal Gibbons of New York, was the most prominent Church leader of this era. He urged Catholic immigrants to practice the American virtues of thrift, perseverance and honesty, and held up to them the example of Ruth of the Old Testament who went to a new land and became a heart and soul part of it.<sup>23</sup> Cardinal Gibbons praised the Catholic Church for its great role in fashioning one American people. When World War I broke out, the Catholic Church under the leadership of Cardinal Gibbons was the religious body to pledge its support. The American bishops at their annual meeting on April 18, 1917, twelve days after Congress had declared war stated, "Our people, as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation."<sup>24</sup> Gibbons later referred to Congress in a statement to the press as "an instrument of God guiding us in our civic duties."<sup>25</sup> Again there is evidence that the leadership of the Cardinal had its effect on the American Catholic population. Records show only one Catholic listed as a conscientious objector during World War I.<sup>26</sup>

The 1920's saw changes within the American Catholic Church. Immigration was restricted by law in 1921 and there was little new influx into the Church after that time. A period of growth in stability and security for the Church followed. The Church flourished and became an accepted part of American life. By the time Francis Spellman became archbishop of New York in 1939, the fusion of American and Catholic no longer needed to be proven; it was assumed. Within his own mind the Archbishop, and later Cardinal, seemed to identify the causes of American and Catholic. He based his appeals for financial support for religious and charitable causes on the good of the nation.<sup>27</sup> During the Second World War the Cardinal paralleled the dying soldier to the dying Christ.<sup>28</sup> During the Korean War he saw the communists to be the present day manifestations of the powers of darkness.<sup>29</sup> Although the Cardinal did not need to prove the loyalty of American Catholics, he did see this loyalty as an intrinsic part of what it meant to be Catholic. The Church was secure, but its security was still too new an experience to be a basis from which to criticize government policies. As in previous times, the warring of the nation was not evaluated according to traditional just war theory; Christian pacifism as an ideal was not a part of mainstream Catholic thinking. (The few exceptions will be considered below.) Moral leadership on the part of Church leaders in regard to civil questions meant simply an identification with the policies of the nation and an exhortation to obedience to government officials and their policies. Conscientious objection was not considered to be an adequate expression of virtue for the Catholic. There were a small number of Catholic conscientious objectors during World War II, some of whom served in the Civilian Public Service program and some of whom went

to prison because their draft boards assumed that a Catholic could not be a conscientious objector.<sup>30</sup> Church leaders did little to dispel this notion.

The between the wars period in the twentieth-century American Catholic Church did see the formation of two peace groups, each of which involved only a small minority of Catholics. One of these was the Catholic Worker founded by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in 1933 as a shelter providing relief for the unemployed. The members of the Catholic Worker took vows of poverty and pacifism and gave strong support to the conscientious objectors during World War II. The Catholic Worker ran three camps for Civilian Public Service workers, one in New Hampshire, one in Chicago, and one in Maryland. The first of these operated two years and then closed because of opposition from the local bishop. The other two suffered greatly from financial problems and from lack of moral support from clergy and laity within the Catholic Church. The Catholic Worker also became involved in explicit opposition to the war by advocating refusal to pay income tax and refusal to register for the draft. Dorothy Day has continued her pacifist stance into the post war era and wrote in 1954 that her condemnation of war included the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs.<sup>31</sup> She has remained largely criticized by the Catholic population of the U.S. as extreme and unrealistic.

A second peace organization during the between the wars period was the Catholic Association for International Peace (CAIP), an adjunct of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and, therefore, closely tied to the structural Church. The CAIP did conduct many studies and formulate many statements which were of value but was also dedicated to preserving the Church against imprudent or excessive opposition to war and military preparedness.<sup>32</sup> Its efficacy was, therefore, limited.

One international peace organization in which the Catholic Church in the U.S. has been conspicuous for its absence is Pax Christi. This organization was begun in France and Germany after World War I. It was dissolved in 1933 and then reorganized at Lourdes in 1948 and placed under the leadership of bishops from the participating nations. It was approved by Pope Pius XII in 1952 and has included in its membership the Churches of France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain. The emphasis within Pax Christi has been on a spiritual working for peace rather than on activist peace projects. Americans who criticized movements such as Dorothy Day's as extreme and unrealistic could hardly offer the same excuse for their lack of support of Pax Christi.

In conclusion, the history of the Catholic Church in the United States shows little interest in or active working for peace on the part of American Catholics. It seems that one of the chief obstacles to a sensitivity to the injustice of war and the need to work for peace has been the insecure position of American Catholics within American society and the need American Catholics have felt to prove their patriotism by plunging eagerly into war whenever the opportunity presented itself. The last decade of our history seems to show a Church emerging from this feeling of insecurity and more ready than ever before to challenge the government, when necessary, in the name of Christian principles. It is interesting to note that 1960 marks the year of the election of the first Catholic to the office of president of the United States. Perhaps this election was the tangible sign of a Church secure enough to do its own thinking and to formulate its own attitude in regard to a Christian evaluation of national policies and a Christian evaluation of war and peace.

### PART III - Recent Manifestations of the Concern for Peace Within the American Catholic Church

During the past five years the American Catholic bishops have taken unprecedented leadership in speaking out in regard to peace and in considering the possibility of justifiable opposition to a war in which the United States is involved. In 1966 the National Conference of American Bishops issued a statement on peace in which they cautioned that the Vietnam conflict should be kept under moral scrutiny and said that no individual is free to evade his personal responsibility by allowing others to make his moral judgments for him. The bishops called for a constant search for alternatives other than war for solving problems and articulated the necessity of making available information to the public so that a peaceful solution could be sought by all. The bishops gave explicit support to disarmament efforts.

In the 1968 statement Human Life in Our Day, the American hierarchy went even further in their support of peace. They reaffirmed many of the principles laid down in the Vatican II statement on the Church in the Modern World and suggested their application to the current war. The bishops called upon American Catholics to evaluate war with a new attitude, as was suggested at the Vatican Council. They appealed to statesmen to pursue vigorously the search for means by which to limit and eventually to outlaw the destructiveness of war. Wars of aggression and wars without limit were condemned, though the right of self defense was upheld. The bishops said that peace was not a balance of power between enemies but a cooperation for justice and the common good of all men. They called the arms race a treacherous trap for humanity and advocated the establishment of a universal public authority geared to ensure peace on earth. They urged the country to reject an exaggerated nationalism and to work with other nations in a non-violent settlement of disputes. The bishops upheld conscientious objection and recommended a change in the Selective Service Act which would permit conscientious objection to a specific war.<sup>23</sup>

Leadership for the cause of peace has also been taken by many individual bishops during the past five years. Richard Cardinal Cushing said in a statement issued December 25, 1967, "... we cannot stand by silent while the heart is being torn out of a small Asian country . . . For God's sake we must bring this horrible war to an end." During 1970 there have been a proliferation of statements and letters issued by American bishops opposing war and supporting conscientious objection. Among those voicing support for total and/or selective conscientious objection are Ernest Unterkoefler, Bishop of Charleston; Timothy Manning, Archbishop of Los Angeles; Joseph Brunini, Bishop of Natchez-Jackson; Albert Fletcher, Bishop of Little Rock; Peter Gerety, Bishop of Portland; and John Russell, Bishop of Richmond. Other bishops have directly manifested opposition to U.S. involvement in southeast Asia. Bishop Begin of Oakland, in cooperation with the senate of priests of his diocese, protested to Mr. Nixon by telegram the presence of American troops in Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. Bishop Victor Reed of Oklahoma signed a protest along with forty-eight priests of his diocese against U.S. involvement in Indochina. Cletus O'Donnell, Bishop of Madison, gave his support to his priests' senate which cooperated in organizing a day devoted to draft education with particular emphasis on the rights of conscientious objectors. As recently as July 2, 1971, Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of Detroit, has had an editorial published in the New York Times calling the war in Vietnam unjust. The bishops of the United States are not yet unanimous in their opposition to and criticism of the Vietnam War or in their support of conscientious



objectors, but it seems that there is more leadership in these areas from the bishops of the Church at the present time than has ever before been the case.

Our current decade has also seen the formation of a new Catholic peace organization, the Catholic Peace Fellowship. It was founded in 1964, a few months after Pope John XXIII issued his Pacem in Terris. Its purposes are education of Catholics in regard to the traditions within the Church concerning war and peace, especially recent developments; development of a theology of peace and of principles and techniques of nonviolent resistance; and the establishment of programs of draft information and draft counseling.

A new emphasis has come to be manifest in the peace effort of recent times, namely, the personal witness to peace given through symbolic actions of civil disobedience. Perhaps the most prominent examples of this personal witness for peace are Dan and Phil Berrigan, both well-known for their many peace activities and especially for their role in the spring 1963 burning of draft records. The Berrigans are simply two key examples of the many Catholics, especially young Catholics, who are refusing cooperation with the military for reasons of conscience and who are accepting as their personal standard the gospel law of love.

In the Catholic Church of St. Louis, Missouri, 1971, we have another example of leadership and personal witness from the priests of our diocese. The petition formulated by six priests of our diocese and protesting U.S. presence in Vietnam has now been signed by about 200 priests of the diocese and has been endorsed by the Archdiocesan Council of the Laity. The future of the history of attitudes towards war and peace in the Catholic Church of St. Louis and of the U.S. is now being written by each of us. What its pages will contain depends on the actions taken by each of us and the efforts each of us are willing to make now and in the future for the cause of peace. Much planning and action is needed if our good intentions are to bear results. Much prayer and Christian motivation is needed if our actions are to be such that they really witness to the peace of Christ. In closing, I would like to return to that early Christian concept of peace as the gift of God. To really have faith that God has shared his peace with us is to experience within ourselves the power to share his peace with others.

Noel Hackmann BARRETT

#### FOOTNOTES

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## WAR AND MILITARY SERVICE

## GOALS and RELEVANCE

1. To understand a little more the realities of war, in order to be able to be more concrete and informed when considering "just war theory" and the question of military service.

2. To examine the question of military service in a broader context, the context of Christian service. A Christian must be able to see whatever he is doing, especially in terms of a career, as compatible with Christian service.

3. To explore the ways in which education has not, but could, prepare persons to act responsibly/morally, even in the military.

## CONTENT

1. The realities of war are perhaps best conveyed by audio-visual presentations. One film that raises many of the issues involved is "An Essay on War" (16 mm, B&W, 25 minutes, available in St. Louis at the Public Library). Among other things, it introduces the issues of: (See also REALITY OF WAR, pp. 217-21.)

a. The destructiveness of war and how modern weapons make destruction much easier because they separate the killer from his victims. See also "The Battle of Culloden," "Hiroshima-Nagasaki," "Last Reflections on a War," and "Once Upon a War."

b. The emotions of war: excitement, fear, camaraderie, alienation, submission. An excellent written account of this topic is J. Glenn Gray, The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle (Harper Torchbooks, 1967). Also, James Douglass, The Non-Violent Cross, ch. 9; and John Sheerin, Peace, War and the Young Catholic, pp. 10-11 on blind obedience).

c. War and truth: the question of propaganda. See Part I unit on "Propaganda and Advertising," and William Nesbitt, Teaching About War and War Prevention, Part I, ch. 3, especially pp. 31-33.

d. Guerrilla warfare: most wars since 1945 have been and will be of this type, especially in the Third World.

## 2. War, Freedom, and Education

a. Atrocities in war have always occurred, though perhaps not with the frequency of Vietnam or at least not with such awareness by people. "The Winter Soldier" (the main version is a 90-minute film produced by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War) testifies to such atrocities and raises serious questions for education.

b. How do men become capable of such actions?

(1) The dehumanization of basic training and the experience of war itself: See unit on "The Military and the Individual." See Film, "Basic Training."

(2) How do schools teach unquestioning submission?

c. How can we educate students for freedom and choice and what are the costs?

(1) Begin with helping students develop a healthy self-concept. See Part III, MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 288-90.

(2) Educate by presenting alternatives, helping students learn to evaluate. Question: is presenting alternatives sufficient, or must the teacher also be a strong counter-image to submission, etc.?

(3) Help students develop the freedom to resist group pressure and be able to take a stand.

d. How to handle the reality of evil, the evil in ourselves and the evil outside, is an important and difficult matter. Arthur Miller's After the Fall is a good fictional way of getting at evil in both senses, but especially the evil in ourselves. John Knowles, A Separate Peace (book or film) would be excellent for high school students.

3. Is military service compatible with Christian service?

a. Christian service means basically love of NEIGHBOR. It also involves freedom/invitation ("I no longer call you servants, but friends"). See unit on "Gospel of Jesus vs. Gospel of American Culture," Especially pp. 236-37.

b. Recognize that there are many ways of "serving" one's country. Thoreau's essay on "Civil Disobedience" is excellent for a discussion of three levels of service (with one's body, one's mind, and one's conscience) (See above, p. 255).

c. Military service. This should be presented by a person currently or formerly in the military who believes his military service to be compatible, but who also is open to be challenged. Before bringing such a person in, have the students discuss the issue, so as to be more effective listeners and questioners.

4. For a discussion of other questions of conscience relating to war--JROTC, amnesty, and others--see MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL, pp. 131-84, especially the question of JROTC at CBC.

5. For a discussion of how our daily lives, whether as men or women, touch war and what our responsibilities are, see LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE, Part IV, pp. 341-43.

## METHODOLOGY

See all the METHODOLOGY sections of the units referred to, especially in MILITARY AND THE INDIVIDUAL and REALITY OF WAR.

See LAW AND MORALITY: CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, for the rationale for a dramatic action as a "no" to war. See citation below on Dan Berrigan.

## RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See THE MEANING OF PEACE, pp. 235-37, for the Scriptural basis of "service;" and SERVICE, pp. 323ff. See LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE, pp. 341-43, for the moral basis for individual action, such as tax resistance, selective buying and investing.

See Daniel Berrigan, S.J., "A Meditation from Catonsville," in the unit on LAW AND MORALITY: CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, pp. 59-60, for a deeply personal reflection on the responsibility to say "no" at some point to war. Use the "Trial of the Catonsville" record (see the same unit) for a dramatic presentation of Berrigan's meditation and the reasoning behind their action.



## PART III MUTUAL EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

People have been teaching through successes and failures for a long time. Of the many teaching styles and methods, some seem to work better than others in communicating with people whether young or old. We would like to examine our own ways of teaching to see if we find them in concert with our strongly-held values of peace and justice.

We understand peace in its positive senses. Peace is not only the absence of war or overt violence. Peace is also the realization of justice. By this we mean that we strive to establish and encourage the kinds of relationships among persons, groups, and institutions (political, economic, social, educational) that promote the well-being and development of all persons. Such well-being includes the growth of persons in dignity, in freedom or control over their own destiny, and in solidarity and service with their fellow human beings.

If such relationships as the above are to become a reality, educators must prepare students for creating such relationships. For the most part over the years, teachers have done a good job preparing students academically but have failed to give them the necessary skills to move them through the process of life in relationship to their fellow human beings. In justice we feel that students need to be given the skills (as well as the environment) that will allow them to take their own lives in hand and to help shape the environment in which they are living. In this part of the Manual we are suggesting "mutual education" as a process that will provide students the skills necessary to create such an environment.

In considering this process the following assumptions are being made:

1. that students are human beings and to alienate them from their own decision making is to change them into objects
2. that justice gives the students the right to actively participate in shaping their own lives
3. that if students are to be social change agents in the broader community, they must first learn the skills that will enable them to be such agents in their own school communities
4. that skills of peacemaking can be learned by all
5. that students are social beings who live in a society that believes more strongly in competition and independence than in cooperation and interdependence
6. that environments of cooperation and interdependence can and need to be developed within our school communities if such environments are to be developed on a global level

7. that many new and exciting things are happening in education, but new attention is drastically needed to be given to developing skills of mutual love and respect among all peoples

8. that a school community and a world community can be created in which each person can grow in dignity and self worth

9. that students really want to learn, but students are often caused to fail due to our present system of education

10. that students at any age level have the "readiness" to make responsible choices and decisions and, therefore, the ability to help shape their own environments

What then is mutual education? It is that process of education that enables individuals to grow in dignity and self worth as well as being able to help shape the environment in which they live. (See worksheet #1 at end of unit for a comparison of authoritarian, permissive and mutual styles of education. Mutual education (and peace education as a whole) revolves around four basic values: autonomy, mutual respect, mutual responsibility and cooperation. A word about each.

**Autonomy** (the development of a strong self-concept and a respect for self) is the first important value. How strong peer pressure can be and how it can affect children and adults--making it difficult for people to take courageous, unpopular stands on moral issues--is something we are all familiar with. If we can help foster strong self-concepts and the accompanying increase in autonomy among students, we can make such principled behavior much more common in our society.

Peaceful relationships among students and teachers require mutual respect for all persons. When children feel a teacher's respect for them, or feel the respect of their peers, it builds a confident, mature self-concept in them. This is perhaps the most important thing for a child to learn. Mutual education emphasizes respect for the needs and feelings of both the teacher and the students. Without the teacher's feelings considered, permissiveness results; the child tends to become self-centered. Without the students' feelings considered, authoritarianism results; the child tends to become dependent, self-effacing. Work toward respect for everyone's needs and wants, toward respect for everyone's entire person, is work toward peace.

Mutual education promotes such behavior by placing much responsibility for what goes on in the classroom and school on the students as well as the teacher. Developing this sense of mutual responsibility, students tend less and less to leave matters to the teacher--let others worry about things which they aren't going well. A great deal of initiative is fostered through the whole process of mutual de-

### Decision-making

Finally, mutual decision-making fosters a spirit of cooperation, so necessary in our highly competitive society. Rather than pit student against teacher and student against student, mutual education through mutual decision-making involves all in a process of working together. Building community in the classroom through the development of cooperative learning and other things is a necessary step in the kind of values revolution that peace education is about and that our society needs so badly. See GOSPEL of JESUS vs. GOSPEL OF AMERICAN CULTURE, pp. 249-52.

The various parts of this unit will take us through the whole process of mutual education and, hopefully, give the necessary skills for building a just and peaceful classroom and school community. We begin with a short analysis of institutional violence in our school systems, as the problem against which we are working. Then we move in the four value areas of mutual education that were outlined earlier.

Each value area will state some content, a few underlying values and some simple concrete ways of giving flesh to these values. In no way do we pretend to think that all these suggestions will work for you, or that these are the only activities that are usable. We challenge you to reflect on the value, consider the activities suggested and then move creatively. We feel that there is a sequential order to the various value areas and that this order is important in developing the skills of mutuality. It seems that we must create environments where students know and believe in themselves before asking them to bring those differences together in a group setting. Unless we know how to respect both self and others in an honest open way, trying to make a mutual decision will be fruitless. Pitting people against one another will only continue. As mutuality is accepted within the group for the decisions made, then the hard questions about competitive struc-

tures can be asked and dealt with. The one real danger of stating the sequential order is that groups may never get past the first two value areas. Although it is important to develop an environment of self-respect and mutual respect, it must be remembered that both will take a lifetime. Also, both self and mutual respect will continue to grow and mature as individuals and groups work through the process of mutual decision-making.

Another real danger of using the process of mutual education to create a more just world is that it will turn exclusively inward. For most young people, the world of school exists as the major part of their world. As educators we must realize that we are preparing students for life. It is true that we can't work for justice and peace in the community or world until we practice peace and justice in our schools, but again, if we wait for perfection on the school level, we will never practice it in the world. As we work on becoming more cooperative and interdependent in our classrooms, in faculty meetings, and in school-wide decision-making meetings, we need to look at becoming more interdependent with the local community (reciprocally sharing facilities, personnel, etc.) and more interdependent with the globe (using natural resources, talents, money, political power more responsibly). Thus, "interdependence" as an organizing concept or theme links mutual education with many of the other aspects of peace and justice education. Teachers are called to make these links and connections between the students' experiences in the school with similar situations and structures in society. In order to help make these connections to the broader world community, there will be a series of suggestions of how to do this at the end of each value section. Again, the value skills are embodied within the school environment but are only valuable to the extent that they reach to the whole human family.

## INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

### A. Reality:

There are many forms of such violence in our schools, ranging from the more obvious forms such as excessive competition in grades, sports, etc., to the kinds of authoritarian decision-making processes that can be destructive of community in the school. Also, rules and discipline can be areas of institutional violence.

More on the overt violence side of things is the whole question of corporal punishment. We do not have a unit headed "physical violence," but it is necessary when we discuss ways in which we are violent with children to mention corporal punishment. Teachers do hit children. Often the teacher regrets her act and apologizes and sometimes she uses the instance of her own loss of control to help children understand about the violence that is in each of us. But more often, she becomes defensive and the children learn from her example that the way to solve conflict is to use physical force.

The Fall 1974 issue of the Journal of Clinical Child Psychology is entitled Violence Against Children. It is collected writings of 20 psychologists on the topic of corporal punishment in schools. Norma D. Feshback suggests in one article that perhaps children learn more about how to behave by watching the teacher hit one other child than by a week of viewing violence on television (p. 28). After all, the child may never meet a private detective, but teachers are her living models.

The authors know of only two states that outlaw corporal punishment in schools: New Jersey and Maryland, and one major city: Chicago. Other city school districts like New York City do prohibit corporal punishment, but such a prohibition does not make it against the law and teachers in those districts can be punished only if their superiors choose to do so. We suggest that one action available to teachers who want to change structures of violence is to lobby for city and state laws against corporal punishment.

### B. Activities:

1. Brainstorming: Have students list all the violence-causing elements they feel in their school. Present alternative educational settings/structures (e.g. open classroom) and ask them to make comparisons and discuss the pros and cons. One useful pamphlet would be "Alternative Public High Schools: Prospects and Problems" (published by Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138, 1973).

2. Reflect on and then apply the following animal fable to our educational system. What and where is the institutional violence? How can we begin to change this kind of violence?

### "Fable of the Animal School"

by Dr. G. H. Reavis, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio

Once upon a time, the animals decided they must do something heroic to meet the problems of "a new world", so they organized a school. They adopted an activity curriculum consisting of running, climbing, swimming, and flying and to make it easier to administer, all the animals took all the subjects.

The duck was excellent in swimming, better in fact than his instructor and made passing grades in flying but he was very poor in running. Since he was slow in running he had to stay after school and also drop swimming to practice running. This was kept up until his web feet were badly worn and he was only average in swimming. But average was acceptable in school so nobody worried about that except the duck.

The rabbit started at the top of the class in running but he had a nervous breakdown because of so much make-up work in swimming.

The squirrel was excellent in climbing until he developed frustration in the flying class where his teacher made him start from the ground up, instead of from the tree top down. He also developed a Charlie horse from overexertion and then got C in climbing and D in running.

At the end of the year, an abnormal eel that could swim exceedingly well and also run, climb and fly a little, had the highest average and was valedictorian.

The prairie dogs stayed out of school and fought the tax levy because the administration would not add digging and burrowing to the curriculum. They apprenticed their child to a badger and later joined the ground-hogs and gophers to start a successful private school.

3. To look at the effects of violence in other institutions and compare them with the effects of violence within the educational institution. Refer to the spiral of violence, pp. 48-52 for a more complete examination of institutional violence.

## CONTENT AND METHODOLOGY

## I. SELF RESPECT

All individuals are created with a uniqueness which makes them special as well as different. It is to the extent that the individual's uniqueness is called forth that they realize their power within. Many powers and gifts lie dormant in individuals because the forces of the environment have not recognized or called forth these special gifts within. If individuals are to take an assertive role in society rather than blindly and automatically submit to the dictates of others, then as educators we must help people know how to empower their own life as well as the lives of others. Therefore, it is important that we empower students with the ability to know and believe in themselves as worthwhile beings with both strengths and weaknesses and that we lead students to a deeper realization that others know and believe in them as unique beings with worth and dignity.

A. Value: to empower students with the ability to know and believe in themselves as worthwhile beings with both strengths and weaknesses

## Activities:

1. Have the students discuss the following questions in order to get in touch with part of their real self
  - What is the most positive thing that has happened to you this week?
  - What is the most beautiful experience you have had recently?
  - What is the nicest thing anyone ever did for you?
  - What did you enjoy doing most this week?

2. List nine words or phrases that describe what the students feel describes themselves. Pick the most vague word, and with further words, phrases or paragraph explain it more specifically.

3. Have the students list events, places and persons important in their lives. Then have them choose the most interesting and in a few sentences describe why this is the most interesting.

4. Have students rank order the following and then discuss what the results say about their very person.

BE: 10 years old	LIKE TO: Read
3 years old	Watch T.V.
21 years old	Dance

BE: Happy	DO WELL: Math
Smart	Spelling
Nice looking	Creative
	Writing

BE: good in school	LOSE: my best friend
work	
good at sports	my money
good at making	my library
friends	book

5. Frequently use the proud line focus game in the group whip process to help students to be able to vocalize their qualities of which they are most proud.

Objective

To give each group member an equal opportunity to express herself and let other group members know how she feels about various issues.

Procedures

1. A group convenes to play the game.
2. The group identifies a topic on which they would like to hear each group member speak.
3. The topic is formulated into a question. Example: What have you done this week of which you are proud? Where do you stand on this issue?
4. Whipping around the group, each member answers the question in as few words as possible, yet making herself clear and understood. Other members are not to comment upon the answers. The group might wish to discuss the whip or identify a new topic and repeat the process.

## EXAMPLES:

- a job I have done recently
- something I do well. Other people can do it, too
- something I said this week
- something I did for someone also
- some group I belong to
- the way I manage money
- the way I manage time
- the way I handled a problem
- something I own that means a lot to me
- something I do that doesn't conform to the norm among my friends

6. Lead students into an awareness of many kinds of feelings and how these feelings tell us much about our uniqueness. Have students list as many different feelings as possible and how they deal with those feelings. Check in Marshall Rosenberg's book FROM NOW ON, pp. 38-39, for a list of feelings that are likely to be present when wants are being satisfied and feelings that are to be present when wants are not being satisfied.

7. To play the following dance focus game, and others like it, as only one of the many ways to get students to freely express themselves in ways other than words.

Objectives

The objective of the game is to remove the inhibitions to creative dancing and movement, and to permit people to express themselves by creating personalized dances. It tends to involve everyone in dancing.

Procedure

1. A group of between 2 and 5 people get together to play the game. If there are more people present, several groups may be formed.



2. One group member volunteers to be focus.

3. The focus player dances as he or she chooses.

4. The other members try to move in such a way as to reflect the spirit and feel of the focus' movement. It is not necessary for their movements to be exactly like that of the focus. Any approximation is good, and exaggeration is even better.

8. Often labels prevent people from developing to their full potential. Have the students view CIPHER IN THE SNOW reflecting on the labels that were placed upon the main character and what those labels did for his lack of growth and belief in self.

9. Stereotypes also keep people from gaining a true sense of who they really are. The following three movies would be excellent ways to introduce such a discussion...

a. HEY! WHAT ABOUT US - gives insight into sex role stereotyping in physical activities in schools, including physical education classes, playground games and boisterous behavior in the classroom.

b. I IS FOR IMPORTANT - focuses on sex role stereotyping in social interactions and emotional expression.

c. ANYTHING THEY WANT TO BE - explores sex role stereotypes in intellectual and career-oriented activities.

B. Value: to lead students to a deeper realization that others know and believe in them as unique beings with worth and dignity.

Activity:

1. A person's name is special. Always use it when speaking to the person and with reverence.

2. Small but positive, life-giving words or actions help to let people know they are important. Try daily to speak to each student in a way that will call forth the uniqueness within - e.g. you are great, thanks for your smile, a pat on the back

3. Speaking to a person on an individual level is powerful. Again try daily to speak to each individual on a one-to-one level concerning some non-academic aspect of her life. Lead students to do the same for each other.

4. For both teacher and student to recognize the strong quality in each student and call it forth daily.

5. For everyone in the group to help one another feel success in every situation--one concrete way is by never putting marks or grades on papers but rather accepting all work as good and discuss with the individuals ways in which they can improve. (see student-student conferences and student-teacher conference in the mutual decision section pp. 293-94).

6. Accept the students' ideas, suggestions and modes of operating--e.g. at the beginning, allow the children to suggest times to get drinks, activities for World Food Day, how to arrange the classroom. Later, begin to accept and use more and more of their suggestions until they are mutually operating the room with you. (see goal setting in the mutual decision-making section pp. 293-94).

7. Students and teachers reflect on each other needs. Record the reflections in a journal for several weeks. Study the reflections as a guide in planning ways of calling each other forth in dignity and self worth.

8. In order to better understand each student in relationship to one another, consider developing a sociogram. The following may be helpful:

A sociogram is one of the best devices for getting to know your children and for placing them near students where they will work most advantageously. A sociogram is a chart of the interrelationships within a group. Its purpose is to discover group structure (sub-group organization, friendship patterns) and the relation of any one person to the group as a whole. Its value is in its potentiality for developing greater understanding of group behavior.

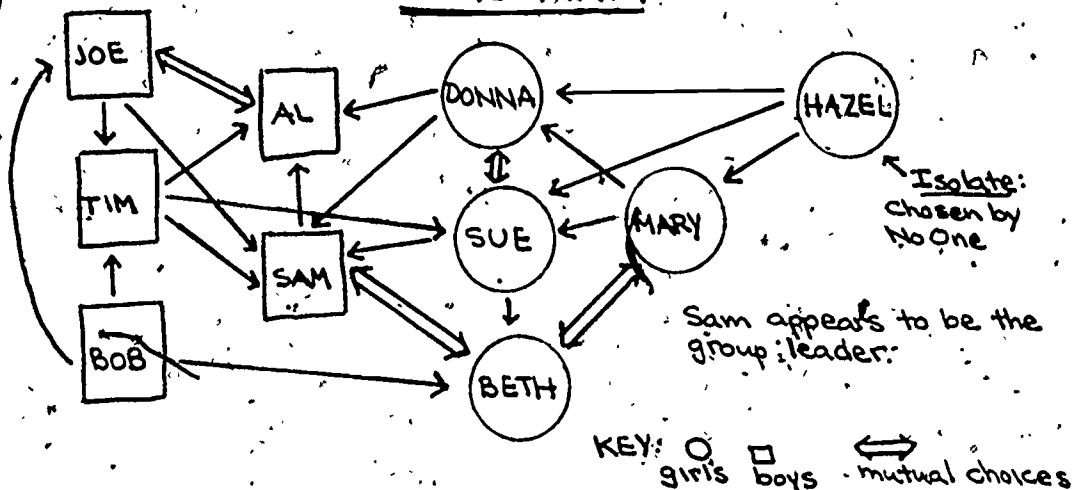
Use the following instructions in constructing a sociogram:

1. Ask the children the following or a similar question. If we were to divide the class to do a special project, who would you choose to work with? Who would you choose second? Third?

2. Draw a diagram illustrating the choices the children made. Put the girls' names in circles and boys' names in a square. From each name put an arrow pointing to the choices made by the individual. In case of a mutual choice, use double lines. The diagram below will illustrate this procedure.

3. After completing your diagram, it is possible to see the popular children in the class and the isolates. Try to place the isolates next to students they have chosen. If two children choose each other, try placing them together until you see that this is not practical. If you spot two conflicting leaders in the group, try to keep them apart to decrease the amount of friction that might occur. In the meantime, work on this relationship.

4. You will find that a meaningful arrangement in the classroom will prove advantageous for all. Do not use the sociogram until the children become well acquainted with each other.

SOCIOGRAM

C. Value: to empower all peoples of the world with self worth as well as empowering them with a deeper realization of uniquenesses

## Activities:

1. Many of the suggestions given in the GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE UNIT pp. 165ff and in the MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION UNIT pp. 153ff will be most helpful.

2. Many excellent teaching concepts and other resources for this area are outlined in the books BUILDING BLOCKS FOR PEACE and PEACE IS IN OUR HANDS.

## II. MUTUAL RESPECT

Because we are social creatures, we long to share our uniqueness with others. When people take the time and effort to understand and accept each other's uniqueness, there is mutual respect that is held in reverence. When students feel a teacher's respect for them or feel the respect of their peers, they continue to grow in a more confident, mature self-concept. The feelings, wants and needs of each and every person in the group are very important. Special care must be taken so every member is always empowered by the group and never dehumanized. Therefore, we think it important that people perceive one another, as different and affirm them in that uniqueness, and that individuals know how to communicate in such a way that all people involved are empowered with greater confidence in self.

A. Value: that people perceive one another as different and affirm them in that uniqueness.

1. By allowing children to work together in pairs or small groups, so as to recognize more easily each other's talents: e.g.,

a. create a situation where a pair of students will be working together in which one student is strong in one aspect of the project while the other is strong in another aspect of the same project;

b. allow children to do that activity which will allow their talents to shine.

2. By helping students recognize the strong qualities in themselves as well as others:

a. Format of the "proud line" may be helpful, where each student names that quality of which she is proud in herself. Then each student names that quality of which she is proud in each of the other students.

By allowing and helping the children to evaluate themselves as well as others; (see student-student evaluation in mutual decision section pp. 273-94)

3. By allowing and encouraging the students the freedom to discuss and help other children in the classroom:

a. Appoint several strong students in each subject area to be your helpers--change them frequently and try to find a strong area even in the slowest student.

b. Later allow within a given period any student to help any other student.

c. Finally, open the whole day to a free exchange of students' helping one another.

4. By allowing time in the daily routine for the students to share themselves:

a. this can be done by spending 20-30 minutes each day in a free period of sharing. The format of "group whip" may be helpful. Each member of the group is given an opportunity to express herself. The group gathers in a circle, since all can

see one another and eye contact is important in making people feel important. This may cause for need of some special planning for teachers and students in departmental departments. Perhaps teachers could cooperate so that each teacher could have such a sharing period with each class she teaches at least every two weeks.

b. identify a topic the group would like to discuss (at the beginning you the teacher may want to determine the topic and the limits of the topic. Be sure to be specific on the topic.

c. Whip around the circle giving each student a chance to comment. Three other students may comment on the speaker's views but must be recognized by the speaker before speaking.

d. Other useful guidelines for sharing times:

- (1) each person gets a turn to share
- (2) nobody has to speak! Everyone has the right to pass.
- (3) nobody speaks or comments on another's turn. This helps to make students feel safe to talk about experiences when they know others cannot immediately make fun of them.

B. Value: that individuals know how to communicate in such a way that all people involved are empowered with greater self-worth and confidence

Activity:

1. Help students to identify the feelings that are communicated with words and ideas. (see WORKSHEET #2 at end of unit)

2. Use the following game to illustrate the importance of good listening as being crucial for good communication.

STOP GAME: Tell the students that you want them to spell the word STOP out loud each time you say it. Say "stop" about twelve times in rapid succession, but give the students time to respond by spelling it each time. After the twelfth time say, "what do you do when the traffic signal is green?" If they have fallen into the pattern, they'll spell STOP

3. Asking is also a necessary part of group communication. Guide the following experience to illustrate this point. Have one student draw a fairly complicated diagram on a piece of paper. Then ask the class to duplicate the diagram simply by following the student's oral directions. No one may ask clarifying questions of the student giving directions. Presumably, no one's diagram will be correct. Have the student show the class the original. Lead the students to see that good listening is important but questions are sometimes also essential.

4. Specific barriers in the communication process create many unnecessary problems in our classrooms. Some of our most common mistakes in communication are listed on the page marked "communication barriers" at the end of the unit. Become familiar enough with these to spot them when you see and hear them in yourself

and others. (See WORKSHEET #2)

5. To use role playing situations in order to give students an opportunity to practice communicating in various ways. (See WORKSHEET #3)

6. Let each person in the group write down what she is feeling and wanting at this particular moment. Let each share with the other and let it be known if someone has not included both feelings and wants.

7. For practice in communicating your own feelings and wants, and for practice in understanding the feelings and wants of others, try play-acting some realistic situations. Let one person take the part of a person unacquainted with these communications barriers and skills. Let another person try to respond to the first, keeping always in mind the feelings and wants of both people in the situation.

8. Tape record 10 minutes of interaction in your own classroom or 10 minutes of conversation with another person. Analyze it for communications barriers. Be sure to enjoy good communication when it occurs.

9. Practice communications skills by focusing on paraphrasing (repeating in your own words) the other people's responses, in order to make sure that you know what message they are trying to send.

10. For constructive alternatives to the psychological violence in our patterns of communication, an excellent program is Marshall Rosenberg's A Manual for "Responsible" Thinking and Communicating. Based on the work of Effectiveness Training Associates (see Thomas Gordon, Parent Effectiveness Training), Marshall's program involves training in

- a. the ability to "own" messages,
- b. the ability to make observations without making inferences,
- c. the ability to recognize and verbally report feelings,
- d. the ability to identify the reasons for feelings in terms of "because wants,"
- e. the ability to express wants in action terms,
- f. the ability to "ground" thoughts and anecdotes in present feelings and wants,
- g. the ability to receive wants as wants and not as demands, obligations, or duties,
- h. the ability to receive feelings and wants as feelings and wants and not as personal praise or criticism,
- i. the ability to receive feelings and wants without evaluating the accuracy, morality, or competence of the speaker,
- j. the ability to ask oneself whether the speaker's message was received to the satisfaction of the speaker and to paraphrase if doubt exists,
- k. the ability to translate any messages into the possible feelings and wants of the speaker,
- l. concerning conflict resolution, the ability to generate alternatives in time, person, place and action dimensions,
- m. the ability to differentiate protective and educational force from punitive force.

11. To guide students in the use of these skills in a class discussion, the following types of discussions may be helpful:

a. Social Problem Solving - each child learns she is important to every other child and that what she says is important to everyone. When children experience the satisfaction of thinking and listening to others, they are not afraid to have ideas and to solve their own problems and the problems of their class by using their brains.

b. Open-ended Subjects - Sometimes direct disciplinary meetings are not as effective as positive involvement in a discussion of ideas relevant to the students' lives. The open-ended meeting concerned with intellectually important subjects should be used most often. (e.g. blindness)

c. Educational - The educational meeting is related to what the class is studying. These meetings can be used by the teacher to get a quick evaluation of whether or not teaching procedures in the class are effective.

12. To help the student recognize the various roles that certain individuals will assume in a discussion and how to use these as empowering moments rather than dehumanizing ones.

a. "THE CHALLENGER"

(1) Turn it over to group (How do the rest of you feel? Use feel instead of think & steers away from mind)

(2) Then - shall we get back to the subject?

b. "THE RESISTOR"

(1) Don't try to change her attitudes - accept her but also others

(2) Take pressure off her by your acceptance of her feelings

c. "THE CHATTERBOX"

(1) Privately enlist aid of individual to help include quiet ones in discussions.

(2) Leader must be firm.

(3) Express warmth and sympathy with firmness.

(4) Seat her next to you - your eye contact will exclude her a little.

d. "THE BORED ONE"

(1) Lead her into discussion

(2) Ask encouraging questions

e. "THE TIMID ONE"

(1) Make her feel she's an accepted member

(2) Compliment her on her active listening

f. "THE FIGHTER"

(1) If two members fight, call a third person's opinion and maybe a fourth - this breaks up fights.

(2) Then get on with discussion

13. The following evaluation form will help students to accept the responsibility for their behavior within a group, to make appropriate changes, and to accept the responsibility for assisting others to grow by providing them honest feedback.

# EVALUATION OF GROUP DISCUSSION

After the discussion, each member of the group should assume responsibility to make the following statements:

1. I did \_\_\_\_\_ today and I was pleased with myself for having done it.

2. The next time, I will do \_\_\_\_\_  
is it to stop doing something?  
is it to start doing something?  
is it to do something more often?  
is it to do something less often?

3. (To a member or members of your group.) You did \_\_\_\_\_ which I found particularly helpful.

4. (To a member or members of your group.) You did \_\_\_\_\_ which I felt was not effective in our group and it would help me if you would  
stop doing \_\_\_\_\_  
start doing \_\_\_\_\_  
do \_\_\_\_\_ more often  
do \_\_\_\_\_ less often

14. To expose students to ways of dealing with conflict in a group discussion as well as in any type of relationship. See NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION UNIT pp. 24-26

Two other excellent resources for activity suggestions are: Marshall Rosenberg's book Mutual Education and Craig Pearson's book Resolving Classroom Conflict.

C. Value: to broaden values A and B to a global perspective

## Activities:

1. For suggestions in perceiving difference in culture and affirming these differences, refer to the Unit on MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION pp. 153 ff.

2. For suggestions in affirming differences in a sense of global interdependence, refer to the Unit on GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE pp. 165 ff.

3. For suggestions in dealing with conflict on a global level, refer to the units on NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION pp. 23-26 and ALTERNATIVES TO WAR pp. 227-32.



### III. MUTUAL DECISION-MAKING

Making free, fully conscious decisions stands as one of the greatest and most freeing powers possessed by human beings. When individuals begin to make decisions about their life, they are no longer objects of manipulation but instead can begin to shape their own lives in dignity and self worth. Along with decision-making is the important aspect of accepting responsibility for their decisions. Such responsibility helps the students to continue to grow in a confident and mature manner as well as teaching them how to be critical thinkers, evaluators and implementors.

Moving into mutual decision-making is not an easy process. Many teachers have experienced disinterest among students at first, especially when they have not experienced the offer of mutual responsibility from a teacher before. Secondly, the teacher generally feels that certain things are important for the students to learn, whether the students perceive that importance or not. Thus, many teachers are unwilling to take the chance that students might reject something he feels is important. Thirdly, teachers often are not that clear on their objectives in a course and thus have a difficult time presenting a clear picture and rationale to their students.

In spite of these difficulties we encourage you to slowly move ahead in the mutual education process.

A. Value: to provide the student's the environment that will allow each of them the freedom to individually enter into that which will shape their lives

#### Activities:

1. The development of an individualization of instruction that will respect the dignity and uniqueness of each child, that will develop a positive self-concept, that will develop responsibility, resourcefulness, creativity, curiosity and a sense of judgment, that will teach children to think rather than memorize knowledge, that will enable to make life their learning environment. Begin slowly, perhaps according to the following steps:

#### a. Step one

(1) for one period a day (long or short), allow the student the freedom to choose that which she would like to do.

(2) allow children to choose between three or four activities in a given class;

(3) allow children different media in mastering skills, such as working with movies, tape recorder, charts, other students.

(4) allow children a frequent free period of creating.

#### b. Step two

(1) set up an activity center in which learning activities can be used individually by students.

#### c. Step three

(1) choose one workbook, allowing the student to work through it at her own speed. At an individual conference, teacher and student can determine how progress is being made (see "student-teacher conference")

(2) set up a progressive set of goals for one subject area and allow each student to work through these goals at her own rate.

(3) set up process goals as described below:

#### PROCESS GOALS

Process goals do not state a level of achievement in proficiency. They do not state performance in terms of learning retention. Process goals simply state a procedure or process which you intend to go through. The goals express an experience in which you will participate. What you get out of that experience; what you learn from it; how you feel about it--is up to you and the conditions of the experience.

You and other people (perhaps a teacher) could create a variety of conditions which could change the experience and thereby affect its meaningfulness to you.

#### Examples of Simple Process Goals

Look at an aquarium for one hour.

Engage in a conversation.

Read a magazine article.

Walk around the block.

#### d. Step four

Move into complete individual goal-setting with teacher and student working out goals for each subject area.

#### 2. Student-teacher conference

a. Set one period of time a day aside to have individual conference, so that by the end of the week you will have had an individual work-conference with each child. Conferences can discuss any work from any subjects. Always begin with the positive and help the student to see the good aspects in her work and how she can improve it.

b. As time permits, begin to schedule more time for student-teacher conferences --one for each of the important subject areas. Even if time for group activity is cut, the individual conference is a very essential item..

c. As the conferences become more workable for the teacher, begin to help the student in deciding her own goals and guidance in working them out.

#### 3. Student-student Conferences

a. Take one assignment that all have

done and give a period of time for students to evaluate each other's work. The teacher should assign the pairs of students and comments should deal, at the beginning, with only the good aspects of the work.

b. As time goes on and students can do the above well, begin to allow them to bring out ways that the individual child may improve her work--never what is wrong or bad about the paper, but always how it can be improved.

c. Next, allow the student to freely choose to go to whomever she wishes for evaluation and also whenever she is ready to have her work evaluated.

d. Finally, allow the student to choose either the student or teacher, but not both.

B. Value: that individuals both individually and collectively as a group, be able to evaluate a situation, to generate options both individually and collectively as a group, to make responsible decisions and to implement these decisions.

#### Activities:

1. Hold frequent periods of discussion on those things they would like to change because they are not helpful and those people and things that have helped them to grow.

a. "A helping box" in the classroom, in which the students are asked to put those comments about the classroom which they would like all to know and improve.

b. "Wishing well", in which children can make two wishes about their classroom. Try to grant their wishes if at all possible.

c. On a piece of paper have the students make two columns, heading one "things I like about school" and the other "things I would like to change about school", and have them list their feelings in each column.

2. To assist students in learning the following steps to be used when working out a decision within a mutual setting. Carefully teach and practice each step with the children before using it at a session where the group is attempting to reach a mutual decision. (See WORK-SHEET #4) Also check Dreikurs' book FAMILY COUNCIL for further principles in organizing a class in mutuality.

3. Daily write on the board your simple concrete goals as a teacher, for each subject area; how they will be accomplished; and the consequences. Students need to know what teachers are about in the class.

4. After the above process is very easy to work with, begin to allow the students to add one or two goals of their own, as well as how those goals are to be done and the consequences.

5. Rather than present the course and its components as you perceive them on the

first day of class and ask the students what they want to do, it might be better to postpone such student input until after the first few weeks of the course. This way they know you better, your strengths and weaknesses, what you mean when you ask them whether they want more lecture or discussion ("discussion" can mean different things to different teachers), what the course is all about. Further, they should feel more comfortable with you after a couple of weeks.

6. Schedule your course in such a way that you can expand each section if the students so wish. Take the first week of material on a subject and then evaluate it with the students after that week, asking whether you both want to take a second week on it or not. This helps them by familiarizing them with the material before calling on them to help decide about the material. The evaluation is vital, no matter what you decide to do, for it gives everyone the sense of "this is our course."

7. Save a few weeks at the end of the course for topics which you and the students agree to pursue. They can ask for some more on topics already covered or ask for new topics. You need to be honest with them. If you are unable to prepare presentations on several new topics for yourself, tell them so and ask to work it out together.

8. At a class discussion, begin to set one or two goals for the classroom: e.g., when assignments are due, when and how to get drinks, when talking is to be permitted in the room.

9. Finally, try to lead the children in setting all their own goals, limits, and consequences for their life together in the classroom. Dreikurs' book LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES outlines the process of setting limits and consequences as well as giving case studies with comments about the results of setting both good and bad limits.

10. Allow students to create an evaluation tool for each goal. Various forms of evaluations should be used by the teacher and students. e.g. oral, written summaries, learning contracts.

C. Value: to see that values A and B be given global consideration

#### Activities:

1. For clarifying values on a global level, refer to PEACE IS POSSIBLE, pp. 41-42.

2. For discussion on ways that individuals and groups of individuals have taken their own lives in their hands, refer to the section on the PROPHETS, pp. 245ff.

3. For helping students to be able to apply skills of mutual decision-making to their role as social change agents refer to service: students as agents of social change, pp. 323ff.

## IV. COOPERATION VS. COMPETITION

Cooperation is what mutual education is all about: the development of an interdependence in which results a more caring, more human, more just atmosphere. Once individuals have a real respect for themselves and for others and then can enter that process where all join together to make decisions, it seems that individuals become more sensitive and helpful rather than competitive.

It is, then, our goal in the process of mutual education to create those opportunities in which students are able to work in a co-operative way, to help students recognize competitive structures, give them the skills to be able to change such structures, and to help create an environment of cooperation on a global level as well as in a school community.

A. Value: To create those opportunities in which students are able to work in a co-operative way

## Activities:

1. Use the following fun activity. "Musical lap" to help students experience the value of cooperation.

## MUSICAL LAPS:

Everyone stands in a circle, facing clockwise, hands on the waist of the person in front. The music starts, and all walk clockwise. The music stops, and all sit down on the lap of the person behind. If one or more people in the circle fall to the floor, gravity wins a point. If the whole circle remains sitting on laps without touching the floor, the group wins a point.

2. Group children with different abilities to work out a given project. Discuss how we can each share our special ability with the total.

3. Pair children in working out certain assignments--e.g. one child who is good in reading and one who is good in organizing

4. Do not have enough materials in the classroom (books, pencils, paper), so that the children will have to share. Hopefully they will cooperate. If not, it will be a good opening for a group discussion on cooperation.

5. Set up a special time when each student can share her/his special skill with the whole class, to small groups that are interested or to younger students.

6. Play games in a cooperative way. Involve the children in rewriting the rules, if the game is one with competitive rules. See unit on CAUSES OF WAR, pp. 223-24. Also see non-competitive game manual at the end of this unit.

7. Use of learning contracts in which goals, content and evaluation are worked out mutually. When student and teacher or student and students mutually agree on the process and expectations of the project, it is usually done in a more cooperative way.

B. Value: to help students recognize competitive structures and give them the skills to be able to change such structures

## Activities:

1. With the students list all the structures that they view as competitive within your school environment. (e.g. testing, grades etc.). For every such item, list an alternate way of accomplishing the same goal but only in a cooperative way. Lastly, work out ways of bringing about a change--small as it may be.

2. Help students apply the skills of decision-making to creating possible ways of changing competitive structures.

3. Have students take a survey of parents and teachers to find out the aspects of their learning experience that they felt were unjust. Students can then compare their findings with the present day competitive structures.

C. Value: to help create an environment of cooperation on a global level as well as in a school community.

## Activities:

1. Help students apply skills of decision making to larger social structures such as voting, judicial system and consumer practices. See unit on SERVICE: STUDENTS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE, pp.

2. Discuss with children the many competitive structures in our society. Refer to INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE pp. 46-52.

3. Discuss what competitive structures do to individuals' lives. See units on CAUSES OF WAR, pp. 223ff and ALTERNATIVES TO WAR, pp. 227-29.

## SUGGESTED RESOURCES:

## Films:

1. Hey! What About Us, "I" Is For Important, Anything They Want To Be--University of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, CA 94720. These three films present actual examples and provide a way to increase awareness of sex role stereotyping.

2. Cipher in the Snow, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602. A true story of a little boy no one thought was important until his sudden death one snowy morning. A real case of how damaging labels can be.



## Books:

1. Rudolf Dreikurs, Children the Challenge, (New York: Meredith Press, 1969). This book is designed to meet the needs of all teachers--to enable those who can deal with their children to formulate a consistent philosophical approach as well as to point the way toward tested solutions for those teachers who are somewhat less effective.
2. Rudolf Dreikurs, Bernice Grunwald and Lay Pepper, Maintaining Sanity in the Classroom, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). This book is designed to meet the needs and confusion of most classrooms. Remarkably helpful, as the authors provide practical advice on specific situations of classroom difficulties. The author also explores the reasons behind a child's behavior and describes the most effective methods of dealing with such behavior.
3. Rudolf Dreikurs, Loren Grey, Logical Consequences, (New York: Meredith Press, 1968). In this book the authors present a new approach to discipline which seems to be much sounder of a method than punishment, for it removes sudden, unreasonable anger, brings about an intrinsic relationship with the child's act, and looks toward the future instead of the past.
4. Rudolf Dreikurs, Shirley Gould, Dr. Raymond Corsini and Henry Regnery, Family Council (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1974). The authors outline a technique for putting an end to war between parents and children as well as between children and children. Although the family council technique is explained within the context of a family the principles of such a process can easily be applied to a classroom or school situation.
5. William Glasser, Schools Without Failure, Harper and Row, 1969. In this book Dr. Glasser offers much food for thought when he suggests that our typical schools are designed for failure. Dr. Glasser also offers in the book a teaching process and suggestions for making involvement, relevance, and thinking realities in our schools.
6. Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, (New York: Harper and Row, 1970). In this book the author gives his prescription for re-making schools to meet our human needs. He first presents the hypothesis that society can be deschooled and what that means in our society today. Criteria is then presented that will help us distinguish such institutions.
7. Dale Olen and Michael Grimmer, A Teacher's Guide to Liberating Education (Justice and Peace Office, 3900 N. 3rd St. Milwaukee, WI, 1975). A good tool for a faculty, a department, a master teacher--anyone who wants to work together in humanizing the process of education. Each of the chapters contains a short reading, discussion questions for groups and action strategies.
8. Marshall Rosenberg, Mutual Education, (Special Child Publication, 4535 Union Bay Place, N.E., Seattle, Washington, 98105, 1972). A good book for unpacking the implications of interpersonal transactions in the classroom from a psychologist's point of view.
9. William Pietsch, Human Being, (New Jersey: New American Library, 1974). A guide that will help one know how to break through the power struggle between two people; how to accept your own emotions, good or bad, instead of letting others define how you should feel; how to communicate effectively, and to listen to what others have to say.
10. Judith Merkle, Justice Education for Young Christians, (Justice Education Materials, Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1975.) A resource manual for teachers of young children that contains a series of planned activities aimed at helping to integrate into the total learning environment of the young student aspects of the values of justice and peace which are consistent with her learning readiness and emotional development.
11. Alwyn M. Freed, Transactional Analysis for Tots, (Jalmar Press Inc., 391 Monroe St., Sacramento, California, 95825). TA for Tots is geared to the pre-school level that simplifies the basic ideas of Transactional Analysis. The purpose is to tell children that they are OK and that they are indeed princes and princesses. It is the first step in inoculating children against an environment which leads them into forming destructive life patterns.
12. Gene Stanford and Barbara Dodds Stanford, Learning Discussion Skills through Games (Citation Press, New York, 1969). This book provides a sequence of skill-building games and activities designed to give students the necessary practice in proper discussion techniques; it also presents a repertoire of remedial devices for use whenever a group shows signs of a particular weakness in any given area.
13. For the Fun of It, Selected Cooperative Games, (Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102). A booklet that offers a variety of games for children from preschool through 6th grade with some reflection on the use of games, competition, anger, leadership, and creativity.
14. Marshall Rosenberg, From Now On, (Community Psychological Consultants, Inc., 1740 Gulf Drive, St. Louis, Mo. 63130). A manual of 150 pages that contains theory, content and practice exercises in responsible thinking and communicating.
15. Grace C. Abrams and Fran C. Schmidt, Peace is in Our Hands, (Jane Addams Peace Association, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107). A resource unit for students in grades 1-6 with activities that will help students understand and deal with their feelings, handle feelings of aggression in a nonviolent way; build self-esteem; cope with other's feelings and actions with empathy and how to build world citizenship.



## ALTERNATIVE STYLES OF EDUCATION

	"authoritarian"	"permissive"	"cooperative"
Who makes the decision about what is to be learned?	Teacher makes decision about what is to be learned.	Student makes the decision about what to learn.	Teacher and student make decisions about what is to be learned.
How is the student's performance evaluated?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. by comparing her with other students</li> <li>2. through an evaluation procedure (standardized test-teacher test) decided solely by teacher</li> <li>3. in the form of an arbitrary letter grade report</li> </ol>	Evaluation and accountability not seen as important	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. by comparing performance with the objectives decided upon mutually</li> <li>2. through evaluation procedures decided mutually by teacher and students</li> <li>3. in specific statements about what students knew</li> </ol>
How is the schedule and the curriculum related to the individual needs of the students?	Scheduling and curriculum are fixed and students are adjusted to existing schedules and curriculum	Scheduling and curriculum is non-existent	Scheduling and curriculum are flexible and adjusted to fit the individual differences that exist in the classroom
What is the effect of discipline on the student?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. teaches student fear of authority's power</li> <li>2. teaches student to value submission to authority</li> </ol>	Discipline minimized to avoid frustration of students	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. teaches student respect for authority</li> <li>2. enables student to exercise self-discipline in making decisions for her own and others' welfare</li> </ol>

## COMMUNICATION BARRIERS

## Worksheet #2

## MESSAGE SENT

## BARRIERS

## MESSAGE RECEIVED

1. "Stop drumming your pencil on the desk!"
2. "If you're quiet this morning we will have an extra recess."  
"If you're not quiet, you're going to stay in."
3. "It's bad to disturb others."
4. "The classroom is the place to work quietly."
5. "Why don't you put your heads on the desk and practice being quiet."

1. Order
2. Promises  
Threats
3. Moralizing
4. Logic, Teaching
5. Solutions, Advice

"You're too dumb to figure out how to help yourself."

6. "I can't believe you children could be so rude."
7. "You're usually so considerate. I can't believe you would continue talking when I said to stop."
8. "You should be ashamed of yourselves, you are just a bunch of rough-necks."
9. "You must not care at all for me to do what you are doing. You must be pretty mad."
10. "Your teacher last year must have let you do anything you wanted to do."
11. "Why are you acting like that?"

6. Criticizing  
Blaming
7. Praising  
Agreeing
8. Name-calling
9. Reassurance
10. Analyzing,  
Diagnosing
11. Questions,  
Probing

"There is something wrong with you - you're bad or inconsiderate to have caused me a problem."

12. "I'm sure you're having a 'ball'."

12. Ignoring,  
kidding,  
sarcasm

"If I confront you directly, you might not like me."

## ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES

13. "non-verbal" messages
14. "Oh," "I see,"
15. "Sounds like you have a lot of feeling about this,"  
"Are you feeling uptight about this?"

- Silence
- Simple Acknowledgment
- Door Opener
- Active Listening

"You're o.k."

ROLE-PLAY SITUATIONS

OBJECTIVE: To give you an opportunity to practice communicating in "I" - "You" language

- PROCEDURE:
- (1) I would like each person in the group to have a turn at playing the role of one using the skills. I would also like each person in the group to play the role of one not using the skills.
  - (2) I would like the group members not playing one of the two roles to observe the member playing the person using the skills and call attention to any deviation from the skills.

SITUATION 1

Your principal offers some suggestions for a change in schedule and asks for reactions to these ideas. One of the faculty members says, "What's the use of saying anything, you're going to do what you want anyway."

SITUATION 2

You've started an individualized math program this year. One of your students says to you, "This is a stupid room - can I get transferred to Miss Allen's room?"

SITUATION 3

A parent whose race is different from yours confronts you at school by angrily stating, "My child tells me you are prejudiced against him because of his color."

SITUATION 4

You are doing quite bit of group work in your room. The principal says to you, "There doesn't seem to be much teaching going on in your room."

SITUATION 5

You have just insisted upon holding a student to the terms of a mutually agreed contract. He says to you, "You're always picking on me, you never make other kids do the stuff you make me do."

SITUATION 6

An irate mother is disturbed by what she has heard about your religion class. She says to you, "My child doesn't even know the ten commandments - I understand that you said they aren't important - just love God and your neighbor - what kind of nonsense is that!"

SITUATION 7

A parent says, "If there isn't a little more discipline in this school, I am going to take my children out of this school."

## MUTUAL DECISION MAKING PROCESS

SET THE STAGE

- find a time suitable to all
- make sure the persons understand the idea of mutuality
- make sure the persons are willing to enter into the process
- convince the other persons they will not lose

STEP I - DEFINE THE SITUATION

- do not communicate blame ( use I messages)
- use active listening
- understand other points of view and clearly state your own
- all accept the definition of the situation
- look for the solution that meets the needs of all

STEP II - GENERATE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- do not be critical or evaluate
- try to get a number of solutions
- if session bogs down, restate situation

STEP III - EVALUATION AND TESTING THE VARIOUS SOLUTIONS

- think critically
- point out flaws in any of the possible solutions
  - reasons why it won't work
  - too hard to carry out
  - is it fair to both

STEP IV - DECIDE ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION

- work toward mutual commitment to one solution
- don't try to persuade a solution on others
- state the solution
- write the solution

STEP V - IMPLEMENTING THE SOLUTION

- given a mutually agreeable solution decide WHO does WHAT by WHEN?
- trust others to carry out agreements
  - don't talk about punishment
  - confront them if they fail
  - don't remind them
  - confront them immediately

STEP VI - EVALUATING THE SOLUTION

- ask how each feels about the solution
- decisions are open for revision
- no one individual can change the solution



There is nothing new under the sun! Or so we are told. The suggestions which follow, therefore, are probably new combinations of old ideas. Games have been in existence for a long time. It seems that now games are merely new combinations of old elements. The proposal in these pages is just an additional injection of newness: cooperation at the base of the games. Many, if not most, games have cooperation in them as they have existed. This is true, with limitations. In games as we have known them, however, there has been some team or individual to be competed against. It is this element that is deleted from the games that follow.

All cooperative games provoke a certain amount of challenge among the players in an attempt to overcome the obstacles presented by the uncertainties of the non-human aspects of the game, i.e., the uncertainty of the placement or speed of a pitched ball, or a kicked ball, or a batted ball; the uncertainty of the combination of cards within each player's hand; the uncertainty of the combination of moves within a play, etc. If these uncertainties were to be dispensed with, the elements of chance, adventure, of game would be lacking. Why not utilize the uncertainties of the non-human elements in the game and minimize the competition against persons? Why not utilize play and examine it for its cooperative effects? Why not experiment with games which are designed in an attempt to develop cooperative attitudes? These games might differ from the games as we have known them in that:

1. All participants strive toward a common goal, working with each other instead of competing against each other.
2. All players win if the goal is attained, or all lose if the goal is not attained.
3. All players compete against the non-human elements of the game rather than against any players.
4. Players do not play identically, necessarily, but unitedly in an effort to reach the common goal.

Why is this kind of game proposed? It is upon these hypotheses:

**PLAY IS ONE OF OUR ACTIVITIES.** Perhaps it is difficult to distinguish between the areas of work and play. Where does work end and play begin? Where does play end and work begin? Probably the activity itself is not the determinant between work and play so much as what the individual brings to that activity, or what the individual takes from that activity. Play might be considered as a pleasurable activity participated in voluntarily.

**PLAY IS AN ACTIVITY THROUGH WHICH LEARNING TAKES PLACE.** It is generally accepted that we learn by doing. Play as an activity necessitates "doing". Play, therefore, offers an opportunity to learn by doing. The extent and the degree and types of these learnings are facets of the problem not yet agreed upon. What do we learn through play? In attitudes, in physical skills, in social skills, in academic knowledge? What do we learn?

**SOME ATTITUDES ARE MORE DESIRABLE THAN OTHERS.** This we generally accept. The point of departure is likely to be: Which attitudes are those considered desirable by everyone? One culture group may tend to emphasize certain attitudes as desirable while another culture group emphasizes other attitudes as most desirable. Are those attitudes held desirable by the individual and by certain culture groups the same as those most desirable for the welfare of the whole world? Does the attitude of cooperation (ambiguous though that may yet be) satisfy individuals and the large group as being wholly desirable?

PEOPLE STRIVE FOR GOALS. There are certain hungers in people that they strive to satisfy. These hungers manifest themselves in the goals they strive toward. This statement is accepted. But here again there is a point of departure from our agreement. It has been said that whether people strive toward these goals with others or against others depends upon the learnings that have taken place. The scientific evidence so far indicates that striving toward goals is inherent in people. Indications point toward the belief that what people do in attaining these goals (whether they cooperate or compete) is a result of learned activities.

Combining the above thoughts leads us to this two-fold assumption: play offers a channel whereby attitudes are developed, and one of the desirable attitudes is cooperation. It is this assumption that fortifies our belief that cooperative games offer a worthwhile experiment.

The following list of cooperative games is submitted as a started toward games meant to develop cooperative attitudes. If the interest in the game is not keen, if the challenge is not sufficient, if the attitudinal by-products are not wholly cooperative, there should not be an indictment against cooperative games per se. Instead, there should be an indictment against those particular games which do not satisfy the desired requisites. It indicates that these particular games have fallen short of the standard in mind. It does not necessarily mean that all cooperative games must be lacking in these qualities. It is up to more of us to create and to submit more games with the cooperative characteristics, or to experiment further with those at hand.

The goals of the games listed seem to classify themselves roughly according to these underlying features: simultaneous finish, coordinated manipulation, rotation, equal division, and predetermined score. Some games may perhaps be classified under more than one heading.

#### SIMULTANEOUS FINISH

In some cooperative games, the underlying principle is for all players to finish simultaneously. For example, in Cooperative Checkers (Chinese), the goal is for all players to place their last marble into home-place the same round for all players.

#### COORDINATED MANIPULATION

This is a principle underlying some of the cooperative games in which all players attempt to coordinate their timing and execution with other members so that a smooth pattern of manipulation results.

#### ROTATION

In some cooperative games each player takes a turn at the sequence of the game, responsible for one step or phase indispensable to the final or progressive goal.

that the score or object of the game come to be equally divided among the players by the time the game is over.

**PREDETERMINED SCORE.** In some of the games the goal set up for the game is a total score toward which the players make combined efforts to achieve.

## GAME PRINCIPLE I SIMULTANEOUS FINISH

### COOPERATIVE CHECKERS.

In cooperative checkers, the two players aim to change the black checkers and red checkers to opposite sides of the board at the same time. The game follows the usual checkers rules, except that there is no jumping or moving backwards. The game is won if the checkers are changed to opposite sides of the board at the same time.

### COOPERATIVE CHINESE CHECKERS.

The purpose in this game is for each player's marbles to be in the home section at the same time; that is, for the last marble of each player to be placed in the home section in the last round of turns. The game follows the original rules of Chinese Checkers, except that all players strive to finish the game at the same time. The players do not make identical moves, however, but each places his marble, jumping his own or others, in such a way as to benefit other players' moves. The game is won if on the last round each player places his last marble in the home section.

## GAME PRINCIPLE II COORDINATED MANIPULATION

**Cooperative Tree Deep.** Players form a double circle, each player of the inner circle having someone stand immediately back of him. One player stands in the center of the circle. The center player throws a ball (preferably a large rubber ball, or volley ball) to any players in the first-circle row. Immediately upon releasing the ball, that center player runs and stands in back of someone in the outer circle. The person who thus becomes the third person in the circle, must run to the center in time to catch the ball that in the meantime has passed from the first row to the second row and back to the center. The new player in the center now throws the ball to some player, runs and takes a position in the circle, and so the game continues.

**Cooperative Bowling.** The purpose of the game is to knock down the ten pins in as many rounds as there are players. If three players are playing, the first player attempts to knock down some of the pins; the second attempts to knock down a few more; the third attempts to knock down the remaining pins. The order of the players can be reversed for each game so as to distribute advantages and disadvantages of the first and last turns. (Children revised this game by counting 1, 2, 3, when each child throws his ball at the same time, endeavoring to knock all pins down at once.)

**TOSSING THE RING.** One player holds a stick. Another player, fifteen to twenty feet from the first, tosses the ring in an attempt to throw it on the stick, while the first player attempts to catch the ring on the stick.

**BLANKET TOSS.** Several players stand around holding the edges and corners of a cloth. A hole big enough for a balloon to fall through has been cut in the cloth. Several different sized balloons are placed on the cloth. Players throw the balloons up into the air by jerking the cloth. They attempt to move the cloth in such a position so that the balloons will fall through.

the hole. Players can determine scores for the various balloons, giving lower scores to the smaller balloons. All players together attempt to attain the goal of having the balloons fall through the hole.

**REIN BALL.** Equipment: Two long ropes are joined by two cross pieces of rope about eighteen inches from each other. These cross pieces are about twelve inches long. A tennis ball encased in a net is suspended from one of the cross pieces. The rope suspending the tennis ball must be no longer than eighteen inches, to allow for swinging around the rope on which it is suspended. A player at each end of the ropes holds the ropes as reins. Players see how many successive times the ball will swing around the piece of rope. Instead of two players, the game can be played with four players, each player holding on one end of one of the ropes, and coordinating their effort to get the ball swung around the center piece.

#### HIT AND RUN.

Two players stand at each point of a diamond. Player 1 throws the ball to 2. Player 2 turns around and throws to 3. Player 3 hits the ball with bat to the center player. Player 1, as soon as he has thrown the ball, has run in back of player 5. Player 4, therefore, turns to the center to catch the ball hit by 3. As soon as 3 hits the ball, he steps in another line, so that the person he displaces takes the batter's position. Successful hits are scored when all players move to their respective places on time.

#### KICK AND CATCH.

Player 1 kicks the ball to X and runs to 2. Players 2 and 3 progress to 3 and 4 positions. Player 1, on arriving at 2's place, receives ball that X has thrown immediately upon catching the kick. X moves to the end of line of waiting players behind 7. 4 runs to take the place of X. 5 moves up in kicker's place, receives the ball from 1, and kicks the ball to 4, who is now in the center. 5 runs to first base, and catches the ball that 4 has thrown to him. Other players progress as before, and kicks, throws and catches continue without hesitation.



### GAME PRINCIPLE III - ROTATION

#### PAN PONG

Each player has a pan (a sauce pan, frying pan, dish pan or tray will do). Players form a circle. One player bounces the ball out of his pan into the pan of the next player. The purpose is to see how long you can keep it up, bouncing the ball from one pan into the next one's pan. If players cannot get the ball on to the next pan in one bounce, they can keep bouncing the ball until the transfer can be made.

#### COOPERATIVE JACKS.

The game is played similarly to the traditional manner, except that the first player throws the jacks and picks up one at a time; then, if he is successful, he passes them to the next player who throws them and picks up two at a time; the next, three, etc. If any player touches a jack that is not to be picked up at that time, or misses the ball, or miscounts the jacks in any way, he forfeits the progress made for the group thus far. The next player, then, begins with one, the next with two, etc. The game is won when the group has progressed to and succeeded at sixes. (For very young children, the game can be simplified by eliminating the use of the ball, and merely throwing the jacks and picking them up.)

#### COOPERATIVE JUMPING ROPE

Two players turn the rope. Other players line up to jump. The first player jumps once, runs out, takes one end of the rope. The player who had been turning goes to the end of the line. Meanwhile, the second player has jumped two times, and runs out and taken the other end of the rope, relieving that player to go to the end of the line. The third player jumps three times and runs out, the next four, and so forth. If a miss occurs, the next player begins over, jumping once, the next twice, etc.

#### THROUGH THE LOOP.

Players stand in a line - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7. Player 2 has his arms arched over his head. Player 3 throws the ball to player 1 through the arched arms of 2. A point is scored if the throw is successful. Player 1 swiftly moves to the near end of 7, taking the ball of 4 on his way. Player 3 moves to the position of 3, and throws the ball to the player (2) who is now in position of 1, through the arched arms of player 3. And so the game continues.

#### CENTER THROW

Players form a circle, with one player standing in the center. The center player throws the ball to any player in the circle, and immediately runs to any player. That player runs to center to receive the ball thrown by player last receiving it. The plays thus continue.

#### BOUNCING BALL SERIES

Players form a circle. The first player bounces a ball one time and the next player, without any interruption, bounces it two times, the next player gets the ball on the bounce, and bounces it three times, etc., going as high as possible. When a fumble is made, or any other miss, the next player begins over and bounces again, the next one twice, etc. A variation of the game is to attempt to bounce as

described above, once around the circle, until the one who started the game has his turn again. He bounces the ball one more time than the preceding player. But the next player starts over again at one. This variation is to prevent players from bouncing to such high numbers that players will have to wait too long for their turns.

#### BASKET RELAY

The purpose of this game is for the players, by taking turns in bouncing the ball, to reach the basket and throw the ball into the basket, and to score a set number of successful baskets.

Players start from one basket ball standard toward the opposite standard. The first player bounces the ball, the next player bounces it, landing in the direction of the basket. Whenever a player whose turn it is to contact the ball is near enough to the basket, he attempts a throw. If a basket is scored, the next player retrieves the ball and bounces it once in the direction of the opposite basket. Players continue attempts to score baskets.

#### CIRCLE KICK

Players form a circle. One player kicks a soccer ball to any player on opposite side of the circle. As he kicks the ball, he calls out, "One". The player receiving the ball, kicks it to another part of the circle, calling, "Two", and so on, each player calling out the number to which the game is progressing. If the ball goes out of the circle, or if any player touches the ball instead of kicking it, the progress of the game is forfeited, and the game begins over with "One". Players see how high a score they can reach.

### GAME PRINCIPLE IV - EQUAL DIVISION

#### EQUALITY

The purpose of the game is for each player to end with the same number of points. The cards are dealt equally among the players. The first player leads a card and other players follow suit. The player with the high card (ace is high, with King, Queen, Jack and 10, etc., following) takes the trick and places in front of him (face up) any ace, 2, 3, 4 or 5 that has been taken in with the trick. All cards higher than 5 that have been taken in with the trick do not count and are discarded. Other players proceed in like manner (with the player who has taken the trick leading) following suit in such a way as to attempt to give the trick to the player who needs the correct number of points for his part of the score. If there are four players, each one's score must equal 20. Estimate the score for each player by dividing 60 by the number of players. (60 is the total number of points:  $4 \times 1$  (ace),  $4 \times 2$ ,  $4 \times 3$ ,  $4 \times 4$ ,  $4 \times 5 = 60$ .)

#### TURN OVER

Equipment: A checker board and 64 one and one-half inch squares, orange on one side and green on the other.

The purpose of the game is for players to place squares on the board, changing from green to orange or from orange to green, so that, at the end of the game, when the board is completely covered, 32 of the squares will have orange sides exposed and 32 green. To begin the game, four squares are placed in the center four

squares of the board so that opposite colors are adjacent to each other. The remaining squares are left in a pile from which players take turns drawing one and placing it on the board next to another square, trying to sandwich one color between two squares of opposite colors. If a player places a green next to an orange, making a green square on each side of the orange, then the orange square in the middle of the two green squares must be turned over and becomes green, too. Any number of squares of opposite color between two ends must be turned over to match the color that sandwiches them. For example, if there appears on the board an orange square, two green squares and an open space, the player might place an orange square in the space, thus sandwiching the two green between an orange at either end. The green squares thus sandwiched must be turned over and become orange, too. Vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines of direction can be used in sandwiching the squares of one color next to squares of opposite color; a player cannot place a square merely on the board without turning over adjacent square or squares of opposite color. The game is won if there are 32 greens exposed and 32 oranges exposed when the entire board is covered.

#### FILL-THE-STOCKING

**Equipment:** A deck of cards, consisting of eight cards each of trains, socks, dolls, cars, balls, candy canes, totaling 48 cards to the deck. The goal of the game is for each player to have some of each kind of cards at the end of the game.

The cards are dealt equally among all players (3 to 8 can play the game). When the cards have been dealt, each player arranges his cards, to see what items he lacks. At one time, all players call out one item that is missing from their cards. At this time, each player has to listen for some item of which he has an over-supply, and, at the same time, listen for the item his neighbor to the left needs. Each player throws into the center, face up, a card desired by someone, and in the next move, retrieves one of the cards that someone else has thrown away, to pass on to his neighbor on his left. This card is put face up in front of his neighbor to the left. When enough plays have been made so that all cards are face up in front of each player, the game is completed. The game is won if each player has an assortment of every kind of card. Arrangements can be made by the group of players before the game begins as to how many of each card has to be held by each player in order for the game to be won.

#### GAME PRINCIPLE V. - PREDETERMINED SCORE

##### HEAVEN

In this card game the purpose is for each player to bid on how many tricks he thinks he can take with his hand, and for each player to attempt to fulfill his own and each other's bid. The high card takes the trick. There are no trumps. The total number of tricks bid by all players must add up to 13 (number of possible tricks). The game is won if each player gets the number of tricks he bid.

##### TIT TAT TOE

This is a variation of the old competitive Tit Tat Toe. A double crosslike figure is marked on paper. The first player writes a number in one space, the next player writes another number, the next player the third number. When one row is complete (three numbers in diagonal, vertical or horizontal rows), the sum of the three numbers determines the number to strive for in all succeeding plays. The players on subsequent turns write a number in a space, attempting to have all rows

add up to the first sum. There is a possibility of a perfect score of all eight rows adding up to the first sum. Players write numbers less than 10, and no number is repeated.

A variation of this game is to use letters instead of numbers, in an attempt to get a perfect score of eight words.

#### BAT BALL

The purpose of this game is to see if the players can make more points than are credited to the game. The game scores a point every time the ball hits the ground. The players score a point every time the batted ball is caught before touching the ground. Each player takes his turn at batting - 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 or more times to a turn. Other players are in a more or less complete circle around the batter at a distance suitable for pitching and catching. Anyone who catches or recovers the ball either pitches to the batter or throws to another in better position to pitch. Positions are rotated at the convenience and will of the players. This may be regular or variable.

#### HALF IN AND HALF OUT

Equipment. Twelve wooden discs, two inches in diameter, and a three foot square board set on legs two inches high. In the center of the board is a circle ten inches in diameter; within this circle is a hole five inches in diameter.

The purpose of the game is to get half the discs into the hole and at the same time to have the remaining discs either on the ten-inch circle line, or in the space between the circle line and the hole. Place the six discs at equidistance around the circle line. On the edge of the board place the remaining discs to be used as shooters. Players take turns to flick one of these shooter discs, attempting to knock one of the discs from the circle into the hole. Any disc which lands in the space between the hole and the circle ceases to be used as a shooter; any disc which lands in the space in between the circle and the outside bounds of the board can be re-used as a shooter. The game is won when players succeed in getting six of the discs within the hole at the same time that six of the discs are on the circle, or in the space between the circle and the hole.

Following are some variations of the game:

1. Use more than twelve discs.
2. Before the game is begun, players can agree upon their own goal - eight of the discs must be in the hole and four in the circle territory, etc.
3. Play the game on the floor, drawing a two-foot circle within a four-foot circle, and use discs such as are used in shuffleboard.

#### COOPERATIVE SHUFFLEBOARD

The game is played as in competitive shuffleboard, except that the court is numbered thus:

10	- 8	3
- 5	8	- 7
- 3	- 10	5

Players take turns in shooting the discs into the court, attempting to place their shots so that the score will total 15 when all discs have been placed. The court pictured above gives greater possibility of scores of 15. The usual shuffleboard court, however, can be used merely by changing some of the numbers to minus and leaving some plus numbers.



## HORSESHOES

Before the game, players decide what score they shall strive for within a certain number of throws. For example, 4 players might agree to strive toward a score of 50 within 40 throws. (Ringer = 5; horseshoe landing within designated territory = 1.) The 4 players at one stake take turns pitching toward the opposite stake. Each player pitches two horseshoes at one round. Thus, in the first round, 8 throws have been made, and the combined score of all horseshoes pitched is tallied. If in 5 rounds, the predetermined score is achieved, the game has been won.

## SEQUENCES

Deal cards equally among players (2 to 10 can play the game). The goal of the game is for each player to have his entire hand in a run, any suit of suits, but the numbers in consecutive order. All players, after cards have been arranged in hands, call out a desired number. At this time, each player passes one of his cards to the left. If he has the number desired by his player to the left, he passes that card. If not, he passes another that someone else has called out, in hopes that it will soon reach the desired party. Again, each player calls out a desired number, and everyone passes to the left. When any player has four or more of his cards in sequence numbers, he places the cards on the table in front of him, and adds the numbers as he gets them. The game is won when all players have all cards in sequence. Before the game is begun, players can agree on the number of turns to complete their game.

It was proposed earlier that experimentation take place. That experimentation might be two-fold: devising new games, and testing both the games that have been devised and the players who play them. Testing presupposes means for measurement. Unfortunately, there are as yet no accurate means for measuring the effect of cooperative games on cooperative behavior. In an attempt, however, to test the extent to which cooperative games are related to cooperative attitude learnings, impressions and observations can be noted. These it is true, are subjective means of testing.

It has been observed that rules are more flexible in cooperative games. It seems inevitable that play activity which will carry out the four characteristics listed on page one will be less authoritarian than competitive activities are. With no other team, side, or individual to compete against, players can agree on modifications of the game as it progresses. The above mentioned flexibility and less authoritarian qualities tend toward more creativity, more variations, and more new games result.

More planning takes place in cooperative games while the game goes on. More suggestions are made to each other.

There is less resentment toward an individual's bungling a play. The group as a whole attempts to cover each other's errors.

Fewer quarrels accompany cooperative games than competitive games. Observing children in competitive games on the playground, one witnesses many arguments. Such remarks are often heard: You're one witness many arguments. Such remarks are often heard: You're I am not! You cheat. You lie. You don't know how to play.

And if the quarrels get too tough, they either come to some neutral party to say who is safe, or the game blows up with some few starting a new game. Quarrels are fewer and much less vehement in cooperative games. When the cooperative game is over, you often hear, "We won" (with emphasis on the "won", whereas in a competitive game you often hear, "We won, we won", in a taunting refrain with the emphasis on the we, implying that you or they did not win.

Games revised from competitive games often revert to competitive games when the players are less familiar with the cooperative games.

In some situations a teacher or leader is more sought after to play cooperative games than competitive games. Possibly this is because one outstanding ability is an asset to the whole group rather than an obstacle to the opposing individual or team, as would be the case in a competitive game.

Active games that develop some pattern of motion seem to be more enjoyable. Perhaps cooperation, coordination, timing, and rhythmic movement are all related. A cooperative game that allows for the establishment of the group's pace, in which a certain momentum is developed, and makes for cooperative effort seems to be more enjoyable.

Cooperative games do have an appeal and interest to many players. Witnessing persons choosing to play cooperative games during times when a wide range of activities were at their disposal, seems to substantiate the observation that cooperative games are both interesting and challenging.

These observations have involved the characteristics of the games themselves. The observations are, more or less, reactions of players to the elements of the cooperative games. Now that we have sketchily observed what the players do to the game, let us see what the games do to the players. This phase of testing in the experimentation program is the more difficult task.

It is at the risk of being unscientific that the following observations are set down. They are observations made of children at cooperative games. The class into which each of these children is placed might be criticized as dangerous generalization. It is an attempt, however, to sample different personality types and their reactions to cooperative games. One child only is listed under each heading. He is, however, an aggregate of many children observed who have the listed characteristics in common.

The cooperative game experiences of an emotionally unstable child: Arthur was extremely unstable. He was insecure at home and starved for love and affection. He had been in the habit of throwing temper tantrums. Sometimes when he came in from recess after a competitive game of marbles, he was red in the face, almost bursting with anger, knocking at anything and everything in his way. When he played a cooperative game, however, his control was never taxed to the same degree. Losing a cooperative game seemed to be made bearable by the fact that others shared the loss with him, and that he had not been vanquished by another team. For example, when Arthur played HALF IN AND HALF OUT, he often found it was difficult to wait while others played, and his over-eagerness to

flick the disos successfully caused failures. Nevertheless, he showed none of the extreme behavior actions as when his ego was shaken in a competitive game.

The cooperative game experiences of a socially well-adjusted child: Christine was a well-balanced child, well liked by many and liking many children. In playing cooperative games, Christine showed joy when others contributed toward success of a game. She often initiated a game and others came to join her. She was patient in teaching a game to others. Often when playing cooperative jacks, she would state the progress of the game if an adult passed near when they were playing. When the group succeeded at throwing sixes in jacks, Christine enthusiastically called out, "We won." If the game was lost, she was willing to try again. Others often followed her example and tried the game again.

The cooperative game experiences of a competitively trained child: No doubt all children have training in competition. Some are more highly competitive than others. George was one of these. George was one of four children playing cooperative Quilts. Jane, Sam, and Edith were elated every time anyone of the four got a ring-er. Occasionally George would say: "We ought to see who can beat. That's how my Daddy says you play! see who gets the most."

The cooperative game experiences of a mentally handicapped child: Boris, of low I.Q., was playing cooperative jumping rope with some other children of normal I.Q. Several times Boris had taken her turn, jumped, but failed to get out at the proper time. Once she started jumping, she didn't know when to stop. After retarding the progress of the group several times, she came up for her turn again. The rest of the group was intent on having her contribute toward their progress. Before she jumped in, they said, "Jump seven, and then get out!" In unison they counted for her. When they reached seven they shouted, "Seven, get out!" She did. She took the end of the rope. The game continued. She seemed pleased to have contributed toward the progress of the game. The group seemed satisfied in having succeeded in getting an understanding over to her and to have progressed with the game.

The cooperative game experiences of an extremely timid child: Susan was very shy. For a long period of time she played with no one during choosing time, when everyone did what he wanted. During this time she sat and drew or looked at a book. One day while dictating to the teacher a story which seemed autobiographical, she was asked what the girl in the story liked to do. "Build with blocks," she answered. After a few days, the teacher suggested to Rudolf, a mild, easy-going child, that he ask Susan to build with him. He did. For several days Susan built. Then one day she got the jacks, sat down on the floor and started to play. A small group joined her. She seemed inconspicuous and satisfied. With no opponent, she was merely a part of the game. It is doubtful whether she would have had the courage to initiate a game in which there were opponents. But in unity there was, for her, strength.

Needless to say, the above observations offer no magic formula for the development of cooperative attitudes. The above recordings

on the participants?" Our concern in this section has been to related some of the experimentation that has taken place in the area of cooperative games. Experimentation in this field is interesting and challenging. It is interesting because there is vast opportunity for creativity in both devising and experimenting with cooperative games. It is challenging because we know so little and need to know so much.

Many questions loom before us. As we observe cooperative games, there comes the realization that there are many unknowns. There are many questions unanswered. There are many questions not only unanswered, but also unasked. Observation, compilation, methods for measurement will be necessary in order to answer:

1. What attitudinal changes, if any, result from playing cooperative games? In all situations - the activity of the game itself, the activity after playing cooperative games, what are the attitudinal changes? How do the changes or the learnings in attitudes during the games and after compare with the learnings in attitudes during the playing and after of competitive games?

2. Is the revision of competitive games into cooperative games putting the cart before the horse? Much investigation and research will have to be done, it seems, to determine the cause and effect relationships in regard to play and cooperation. For example, research may produce evidence that play of any type is a reflection of society. If it is a reflection, society will have to become cooperative before play will take on all of the cooperative aspects. Again if it is a reflection, it is well to note that games of long standing have their roots in the past - a reflection of autocratic society. Research is required to prove or disprove the following equation:

cause : effect :: society : cooperative games.

3. Which individuals are likely to choose cooperative play activities? Do those individuals who are most chosen by their colleagues choose cooperative activities more than do the individuals who are fringe or isolates in their group, or vice versa? A very limited bit of research indicates that children most chosen (as seen in sociometric data) are most likely to choose cooperative games. Questions that have to be answered in this area are: What correlation is there between children who have mutual choices and children who choose cooperative games? What correlation is there between children not chosen and children who choose cooperative games? What correlation is there between children who are much chosen and children who choose cooperative games?

4. What, if any, is the change in sociometric data after children have experienced frequent playing of cooperative games? If all other conditions are unchanged, it would be significant to take sociometric data in a group before and after introduction to and experiencing play in cooperative games. Would there be a change in the most chosen? Would they be chosen not quite so much, losing some of their disproportionate status? Would those in the group who had been rejected become a part of the group and enjoy some choice by others?

Is there likely to be less cleavage between sub-group differences



among persons playing cooperative games than among persons playing competitive games? Is it easier to play all together with no divisions as to teams, and thus less likelihood for there to be cleavage between sexes, between ages, between culture and racial groups, between skilled and non-skilled, between intelligence levels?

6. Is there varying effect on the attitudes of an over-aggressive individual and a timid individual? Is the over-aggressive likely to become less aggressive and the timid more aggressive? Or will the over-aggressive become more aggressive and the timid more timid? Or is the aggressiveness unaffected through participation in cooperative games?

7. What is the therapeutic value in cooperative games compared to that of competitive games? In much of the recognized play therapy that has been done, therapists afford the patients opportunities to release their feelings on materials and equipment. One of the very few restrictions is to refrain from releasing one's feelings in physical combat with a person. It would be significant to find out the therapeutic value in releasing one's emotions in games against the inanimate objects of that game instead of against an opponent as is the case in competitive games.

8. Is there any difference in the spectator vs participant value in cooperative games compared to competitive games? Will cooperative games provide less interest for spectators? Will this push more persons into participation or away from participation?

9. What is the effect upon children who are going into a competitive society, to develop cooperative attitudes in them during their childhood? Is there any possibility of the development of schizophrenics? Or is there any possibility of the development of a cooperative society for them to help make when they pass from childhood into adulthood?

10. What is the comparative merit of introducing cooperative games in these two ways? First - introducing the game as a game merely, and playing it. Second - introducing the game as a cooperative game, with some explanation of cooperative game theory.

... What is the relationship between pupil participation in cooperative games and teacher acceptance of the idea?

12. What is the comparative enjoyment in the participation in cooperative games vs competitive games? How much of the enjoyment or lack of enjoyment is attributable to: the novelty of the experience? the unattractiveness of a specific game rather than all games in that group? the enthusiasm of leader introducing the game? the tradition or lack of tradition present in competitive or cooperative games, respectively?

13. What are the tendencies toward cheating in cooperative games? Does the concept of cheating take on new meaning?

more or less individual effort than the competitive game?

15. Is there a loss in incentive when competitive games are transformed into cooperative games? Do games depend upon extrinsic rewards such as victory over others, etc., for their incentive?

16. Are some players so cooperative as to be competitive in their desire to cooperate? If this is observed, can it be accredited to factors of the game, or past experiences of the players, or what?

17. Is the whole idea of fostering cooperative attitudes through games or through any other media a menace to society? Is it what we need for survival? Will it strengthen or weaken civilization?

18. Are there some desirable aspects of competitive attitudes through in cooperative games? Or, are those aspects desirable only in a competitive set-up? Will there still be desirability for such aspects as sportsmanship when, in cooperative games, there is a winning together, or a losing together? Is it the fault of competitive games which forces the necessity of sportsmanship alone?

19. In play are there other variables besides cooperation and competition whose development is a concern of ours? What about such variables as creativity, security, pleasure, etc.?

20. Is there a difference in the capacity of an individual for accurring cooperative behavior or competitive behavior?

21. Is the acceptance or rejection of the idea of cooperative play relative to our wanting or not wanting a cooperative society rather than for other reasons?

#### HOW CAN WE FIND OUT THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS?

How have we found out about the things on which we are agreed? On points that are generally accepted today, there has either been no evidence found to contradict the point accepted, or there has been establishment of evidence to support the assumptions as fact. The very fact that the above questions have been occasion for controversial discussion points up one very important fact: We do not know all the answers. This is a challenge: to try to find the answers to the unknown. Research is needed in order to bring out evidence which will establish as true or as not true the assumptions presented earlier, that is:

Cooperative attitudes are desirable.

Cooperative attitudes can be learned.

Play is a means for acquiring attitudes.

Cooperative games help to develop cooperative attitudes.

Credit is given to Miss Ruth Cornelius, St. Louis Public School System, who was largely responsible for developing this manual.

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PART IV

LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE

- A. TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS
- B. SERVICE: STUDENTS AS AGENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
- C. LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

A. Because of so many counter images and heroes, it is extremely important to present living examples of peacemakers, so that peacemaking becomes a real option for students.

B. Because of the need to bring peace down from the abstractions of theory/ideology, it is extremely important for students to see ways in which they can become peacemakers where they are, as well as some time in the future.

## CONTENT

A. See units on THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM, NONVIOLENCE (especially the essay on the history of pacifism in the American Catholic Church), and CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE for a discussion of peacemaking. It must be noted again that our understanding of peacemaking is that of Gandhi's and Martin Luther King's and thus often includes the "Creative tension" and confrontation elements generally necessary in promoting a "positive peace" (a peace with justice).

B. The "Literacy Test" by Fr. Dan Berrigan, S.J. spells out 11 ways in which all of us can be peacemakers. These 11 suggestions emphasize the wholeness of a life of peacemaking, with special consideration of the ways in which we relate to other persons.

C. See units on WORLD HUNGER, GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, PROPHETS: OLD TESTAMENT AND TODAY, THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING, SERVICE: STUDENTS AS AGENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, and LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE for numerous ways in which all of us can be peacemakers.

## METHODOLOGY

### A. Audio-Visuals

There are numerous films and other audio-visuals on contemporary peacemakers, like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Mother Theresa, Rosa Parks. One such presentation is our own, entitled "Gandhi as Peacemaker," a 20-minute filmstrip/cassette in which we explore Gandhi's method of nonviolent conflict resolution, his work for institutional change, the service aspect to peacemaking, simplicity, community, prayer, liberating educational structures, and decentralized economic and political structures to foster self-reliance among people so that they more truly help shape their own individual and societal destinies. The presentation concludes by asking how each of us is called to be a peacemaker in our own lives, and is geared to older students and adults. Other presentations include (copy list from p. 319)

B. A good term project would be to have each student or groups of students pre-

pare a presentation (of many different kinds) on some contemporary peacemaker and begin to examine themselves in terms of how they see themselves as peacemakers now and in the future. A discussion of life-style is especially important because the kinds of values one is trying to realize in society must flow out of a realization of these values in one's own life.

C. Walking Together Again: A Kit for Understanding the Sacrament of Penance is published by Mine Publications, 25 Groveland, Minneapolis, Minn. 55403. It contains 2 posters (with print on both sides, one of the 4 a parable by Ambrose Bierce), 6 booklets of stories, 1 activity booklet (make-a-mobile; take a hat with a large floppy brim and pin to the hat a collection of things and pictures that each tell a part of who you are; MY PEACE STORY--Someone made a promise to me. It was ..... I've made a promise to someone. It was ..... I am a peacemaker because I ..... and two booklets for parents, teachers and program leaders (with suggestions for home and school). The price is under two dollars and the middle grades teacher who tried it out for us said it is just the thing for third and fourth graders. The emphasis is on personal peace and justice in the family or between friends rather than on global issues; but it has so many good ideas and well done things to look at.

### D. The "World Heroes/Heroines" Exercise

This exercise is described in Part I, pp. 17-18; as a means for multicultural education. Here we note its potential for eliciting from students their own understanding of heroism and who their heroes/heroines are.

#### 1. What is a hero/heroine?

This is the initial question of an excellent filmstrip/cassette entitled "Rosa Parks: A Woman Who Changed History" and produced by the Center for Teaching about Peace and War at Wayne State University. Designed for middle grade students (see Part I, pp. 16-17) it points out the nature of heroism and convincingly shows how each of us can be heroes/heroines, not just famous people.

#### 2. Who are our heroes/heroines?

Many of the people we would identify as peace heroes are listed somewhere in this unit, especially in the next section on "Biography" and in the "Resources/Bibliography" section. Others not mentioned in these two sections include Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania (see Part I, pp. 17-18); Dag Hammarskjöld; Thomas More (A Man for All Seasons); and the 5 U.S. Nobel Peace Prize recipients: Jane Addams and Martin Luther King (already mentioned), and Emily Green Balch, Ralph Bunche, and Linus Pauling.

As you can readily notice, most of the



heroes listed in this unit are Western. That reflects our concern to suggest persons about whom things have been written that are readily available. But we are also concerned about stretching ourselves and students, and so we strongly suggest consulting the units on MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION and the issues of the Council on Interracial Books for Children in which they discuss significant persons from U.S. minorities who are lost in our textbooks. Along the same line, you might consult the entire list of Noble Peace Prize recipients for its non-Western lack of emphasis.

#### E. Biography

While we highly recommend the use of biography for middle grade and junior high students, since they seem to respond to it so favorably, we hesitate to present long lists of materials with which we are unfamiliar. Some are excellent; many are not helpful. Books about which we feel relatively comfortable in recommending include:

Cesar Chavez, Man of Courage, by Florence M. White. Garrard Publishing Co., Champaign, Illinois, 1973. Grades 4-8. This is one of a series entitled "Americans All" biographies--inspiring life stories, as the editor puts it, "about people of all races, creeds, and nationalities who have uniquely contributed to the American way of life" (in the arts, industry, human rights, education science and medicine, or sports).

Jane Addams, Pioneer of Social Justice, by Cornelia Meigs, Little, Brown, and Co. \$5.95. Age 12 and up.

Chief Joseph's Own Story as told by Chief Joseph. Montana Reading Publications, 1972. \$1.25. Reading level, grade 3. Interest level, grade 6 to adult.

Then there are a whole series of good biographies on Martin Luther King:

Clayton, Edward. Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior. Prentice Hall 1969 (Gr. 2-5). Simple, direct story of King's boyhood and adult life bringing out many facets of his personality and work.

Dekay, James T. Meet Martin Luther King, Jr. Random House 1969 (Gr. K-3) A really good, simply written biography.

Harrison, Deloris, Ed. We Shall Live in Peace. Hawthorn 1968 (Gr. 4-8)

Excerpts from King's speeches and writings carefully arranged and introduced. Includes a chronology of important events and an index.

Jones, Margaret Boone. Martin Luther King, A Picture Story. Children's Press 1968 (Gr. K-2). An introduction to King in picture book format for young children.

Merriam, Eve. I Am A Man: Ode to Martin Luther King, Jr., Doubleday 1971 (Gr. 3-6) A poetic version of Dr. King's fight for

peace and equality--a mood book with beautiful illustrations.

Millender, Dharathula H. Martin Luther King, Jr.: Boy with a Dream. Merrill 1970 (Gr. 4 & 5). Especially good information about Dr. King's school days, and the influences that shaped his young mind.

Osborne, Charles, and Editors of Time/Life I Have A Dream: The Story of Martin Luther King in Text and Pictures, Time/Life 1968 (gr. 4-10). Appealing format includes over 100 black and white photos and a journalistic account of Dr. King's adult life.

Patterson, Lillie. Martin Luther King, Jr. --Man of Peace. Garrard 1969 (Gr. 2-5) A short biography (96 pages) with many illustrations. Written in simple style for students with poor reading skills.

Preston, Edward. Martin Luther King: Fighter for Freedom. Doubleday 1968 (Gr. 6-9) black and white photographs.

Rowe, Jeanne A. An Album of Martin Luther King, Jr., Watts 1970 (Gr. 5-8). Pictorial history of King's life from birth to burial. Well organized, and includes excerpts from some of his speeches.

Young, Margaret. The Picture Life of Martin Luther King, Jr. Watts 1968 (Gr. 1-3) Simple text illustrated with photographs, many children in the primary grades can learn to read these pages that have only one to four sentences per page. Dr. King's death is not mentioned.

Finally, we want to present a similar listing for Gandhi:

Eaton, Jeanette. Gandhi: Fighter Without a Sword. Morrow, 1950 (Gr. 7-10). Usually considered the basic biography of Gandhi for Junior High and older youth, the biography is written in pleasant style. It presents well-rounded characterization of Gandhi by providing many vivid details of his life.

Lengyel, Emil. Mahatma Gandhi: The Great Soul. Watts. 1966 (Gr. 4-9). A personal writing style invites children to read this accurate account. Helpful chronology, index, and pronunciation key.

Masani, Shakuntala. Gandhi's Story. Oxford 1950 (Gr. 4-6)

A short account (101 pages) told in storytelling style. An appropriate, impressive introduction to Gandhi.

Schechter, Betty. The Peaceable Revolution. Houghton Mifflin. 1963 (Gr. 7-12) After a quick introduction to the life and philosophy of Thoreau, the author presents the lives of Gandhi and M. L. King. The treatment of Gandhi is mature, focusing on how his philosophy affected the events of his life.

Zinkin, Taya. The Story of Gandhi. Criterion 1965 (Gr. 7-10). A carefully constructed biography based upon Gandhi's autobiography, the collected works of M. K. Gandhi, and other works. Powerful and interesting.

McNuz, Mary, and Ward, Lynd. Armed with Courage Abingdin 1957 (Gr. 5-8). A section on Gandhi in this book about seven dedicated crusaders against disease, ignorance, and prejudice.

Montgomery, Elizabeth. Peaceful Fighter: Gandhi. Garrard 1970 (Gr. 5-6). A direct sensitive account, stressing his public life. His constant striving to live the simple life, to liquidate inequality, and to achieve free rule for India make interesting and inspiring reading.

Torgersen, Don Arthur. Gandhi (People of Destiny: A Humanities Series), Children's 1968 (Gr. 5-9)

A fair and accurate account of Gandhi and India.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY/RESOURCES

The Pearl and the Seed, Book IV (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1971) An excellent presentation, geared to junior high students, of Dorothy Day, Mother Theresa, Cesar Chavez, Franz Jagerstatter, Thomas Merton, Pope Paul VI, and others as peacemakers; with a strong religious emphasis.

John B. Sheerin, Peace, War and the Young Catholic (NY: Paulist Press, 1973), Chapter 5. Excellent for high school students.

James Douglass, The Non-Violent Cross (New York: Macmillan, 1968), and Resistance and Contemplation (New York: Doubleday, 1972) are excellent but geared to people who have already taken initial steps along the way of peacemaking. Many of the ideas in Resistance and Contemplation are available at our Institute in "The Revolution Is the Kingdom," "Revolution through Solitude" and "The Yin-Yong of Resistance and Contemplation." Also available are three tapes by Jim Douglass: one on "Personal Liberation," a second on "Non-violent Revolutionary Social Change" and the third on "My Own Resistance."

Albert Camus, "Neither Victims Nor Executioners" (pamphlet available through the World Without War Council, Chicago, for 25¢) is one of Camus' strongest pleas for as much nonviolence as possible in our struggles to free the oppressed. This plea and its manifestations in Camus' own life are powerfully elaborated in his collection of essays entitled Resistance, Rebellion and Death (New York: Modern Library, 1960)

The Pacifist Conscience: ed. Peter Mayer (Regnary, 1966) - collection of writings of great peacemakers. Similar anthologies are readily available.

George Lakey, "Manifesto for a Non-Violent Revolution," in WIN magazine (Box 547, Rifton, New York 12471), is an excellent summary of Lakey's vision and actions for a just society. This is spelled out in details in his major work--Strategy for a Living Revolution (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973). Best analysis available for mature groups, of living and building a non-violent revolution.

319  
Gandhi the Man (compiled from the perspective of Eknath Easwaren and published by Glide Publications, 330 Ellis St., San Francisco, California 94102). The best presentation (text and pictures) available on Gandhi as a person and as a possibility for each of us to emulate.

Daniel Berrigan, S. J., especially No Bars to Manhood (New York: Doubleday, 1970) and The Trial of the Catonsville Nine (See Section on "Civil Disobedience"), for the two best statements of his life as a peacemaker.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship (New York: Macmillan, 2nd ed., 1959) and Letters and Papers from Prison (New York: Macmillan, 1953) are two moving autobiographic accounts of his struggle to be a Christian Peacemaker in Hitler's Germany.

Jose De Broucker, Don Helder Camara: The Violence of a Peacemaker (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1970), is a good biography of this great Brazilian peacemaker up to 1968.

Barbara Deming, "Revolution and Equilibrium," (Available from Liberation Magazine) presents a nonviolent alternative to Frantz Fanon's violent approach to revolution, by a courageous woman who has struggled in the anti-war, civil rights and women's movements in this country for many years.

Danilo Dolci, "Tolls for a New World," Saturday Review, July 28, 1967, and his books, including A New World in the Making present this little-known but tremendously important Sicilian peacemaker who was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Martin Luther King, Strength to Love. Harper, 1963. (Presentation of his Non-Violent Philosophy.)

#### FILMS:

"I Have a Dream," Film biography of Martin Luther King, with an emphasis on non-violent resistance. Available at St. Louis County Audio-Visual.

"Mahatma Gandhi" 20-minute documentary, available at St. Louis County Audio-Visual.

"The McDonnell Film" 20-minute film on the crisis in conscience of working in the defense industry (here, McDonnell-Douglas Corporation), and on the impact of the defense industry on the environment and economy of U.S. Cities. Available at our Institute.

For other films, See the War/Peace Film Guide, by the World Without War Council, especially the section on "Non-violence and Personal Witness."

"They Are My People," a film strip about the work of Mother Teresa, put out by Teleketics.

Singer puts out film strips on Martin Luther King, Gandhi, and Robert Kennedy.

# ◊ SERVICE: STUDENTS AS AGENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

## GOALS

A. To help teachers and students come to a deeper understanding of the meaning of service, especially in a Christian context, and its centrality to a life-style of peace and justice and to Christian education.

B. To help teachers find ways of preparing their students for service and social change experiences.

C. To provide concrete strategies for implementing a service/social change program in school.

## I. The Meaning of Service (includes social change)

A. Helping to free others to shape their own destiny, to share in the gifts/value they are (dignity), to help themselves--e.g., the elderly: Finding ways of their sharing their skills, insights, etc., rather than always being cared for.

B. The works of mercy--the one-to-one meeting of peoples' needs; e.g., food collection, visiting the sick or imprisoned.

C. The works of justice--helping to change the situations and institutions that help create people in need; e.g., prison reform, hunger legislation to redistribute food according to need, images of minorities on TV or in toys (see p. 62).

## II. Rationale for Service/Social Change as a Constitutive Dimension of Christian Education

See "Catholic Teaching on Social Justice, 1967-1974," above, pp. 239-44. Read To Teach As Jesus Did, on "service".

## III. Motivational and Other Strategies for Preparing Students for Service

### A. Need for models

1. for each teacher to be involved in service and social change, if she/he wants the students to be involved;
2. for peacemakers, change agents, and service people to come into the classroom and other areas of the students' experience;
3. for biographies of such persons to be integrated into the reading and other curricular programs of the students.

### B. Need for parental involvement

1. through integrating service/social change into the Sacramental experience of the students/families--especially Confirmation, but also the Eucharist and Penance;

2. through integration in the Sunday and other liturgies;
3. through formal agreements between students, parents and faculty, perhaps in conjunction with reception of the Sacraments.

### C. Need for student involvement

1. in helping to determine options
2. in helping one another persevere, evaluate.

### D. Need for students to become "caring" persons

1. by experiencing those in need and the victims of injustice
2. by learning caring in the classroom--relating to other students and faculty as persons; interdependence
3. by learning to care for the physical environment of the school/area
4. by being involved in the decision-making process in the school

### E. Need to help students overcome fear

1. bring as much as possible to the school (e.g., political representatives or agency personnel), where the students feel more at home--at least to some extent at the beginning;
2. have the students work together and reflect together about their experiences;
3. help them feel good about themselves and to be able to stand on their own feet despite peer pressure;
4. provide a wide variety of options for service/social change, so that each can find something with which they feel reasonably comfortable;
5. provide necessary skills and practice

## IV. Three Strategies for Implementing a Service/Social Change Program

### A. Introduction

The first model is based on our work with a small town elementary school, 50 miles from St. Louis, helping them establish a service program for their school. The second model, Mary Ann McGivern's essay, presents a developmental approach to service and social change actions. Stage I represents actions individual students (and teachers) can do, many of which they are probably already doing. Stage II presents a series of corporate actions the school can take. Both Stage I and Stage II actions represent "works of mercy", in contrast to "works of justice." Stage III actions require the other stages as preparation and deal with institutional change, that is, the works of justice.

### B. "A One-Year Process for Beginning a Christian Service Program" (see below)

### C. "Institutional Simplicity: A Style Any School Can Choose" (see below)

D. "A Service Program in the School" is the history of a very special program, with recommendations for schools wanting to start a service program of their own. Special thanks to St. Erica Jordan of Incarnation School in Minneapolis for sharing this with all of us (see below).

#### V. OTHER SELECTED RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

"The Challenge of Social Justice," a senior high unit by Sr. June Wilkerson, Regina High School, 43rd and 3rd Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55409, is a 12-week program for older students. Its overall goals are to afford participants the opportunity of learning how and by whom decisions are made about circumstances and the quality of life in the Twin Cities; to afford participants opportunity for learning how people now outside decision-making circles can influence or change decisions made therein; and even gain permanent access to these circles; and to afford participants opportunity to become acquainted with and active in the Church's work for social justice. The unit stresses outside speakers, field trips, interviews, films, attendance at agency meetings; and is an excellent way to help students discover their power and put it into practice.

"Community Service: One Path to Learning" is the May 1975 issue of Curriculum Report, from the Curriculum Service Center of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1904 Association Dr., Reston, Va. 22091 (50¢ per copy), is an 8-page rationale for service as a path to learning, plus a number of suggestions for implementation (including several programs in operation).

Write Rev. Edwin McDermott, S.J., editor of the Jesuit Secondary Education Association newsletter for a copy of their January 1976 issue in which is discussed involving high school students in the work of the Better-Business Bureau as a practical experience in social change. Ask, further, for more information on the project. JSEA, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036.

"S. I. Uplift" is a 6-week summer program designed by faculty and students at a San Francisco high school. It is a multi-ethnic experience in education and summer recreation for junior high school students, with follow-up during the school year. Write Leo LaRocca, St. Ignatius College Prep, 2001 37th Ave., San Francisco, CA 94116, for details.

The National Commission on Resources for Youth, Inc., 36 W. 44th St., New York, NY 10036, publishes a number of materials relevant here, including a free quarterly newsletter, "Resources for Youth," describing projects in which youth have significant responsibilities in such areas as environmental protection, child care, health care, and New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community, which presents extensive descriptions of 70 youth participation projects (\$4.25 from Citation Press, 908 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632).



## A ONE-YEAR PROCESS FOR BEGINNING A CHRISTIAN SERVICE PROGRAM

### A. GOALS

Our major goals in this process are, first, integrating the students and as much as possible, parents, into the process; secondly, building on the works of mercy and moving toward works of justice; thirdly, integrating service with the total curriculum; and lastly, enabling a faculty to become self-sufficient in working on service after the first year.

### B. TIME-TABLE

#### 1. Introductory One-or Two-Day Workshop

Here we explored with the faculty a number of things: first, the meaning and importance of Christian service, especially understanding service in justice terms as well as mercy terms (see above, p. ); secondly, how to prepare and motivate young students for service; thirdly, the necessity of teachers being involved in service work themselves; fourthly, generating specific possibilities for service work; and lastly, identifying some ways of integrating service into the regular courses/curriculum.

For generating specific service possibilities and ways of integrating them into the total curriculum, we looked at four categories of action with each area of concern that was suggested. For example, on hunger, we listed possibilities that fell under the category of works of mercy, then under works of justice, followed by life-style possibilities, and finally the classroom accompaniments on hunger. In brainstorming a number of issue areas (health care, family life, the elderly, hunger), the faculty began to see which areas had the most potential for the year.

Lastly, two tasks were assigned. First, a committee of the faculty volunteered to research several community needs that were suggested, to see if they would be good foci for service involvement. Secondly, faculty members agreed to discuss with their students the various suggestions for action and get input from the students. Faculty members teaching similar aged students agreed also to check back with one another and compare the results of their student discussions.

#### 2. October Faculty Meeting

Following brief reports of the community needs' committee's findings and the students' suggestions and based on these data, the group should brainstorm service possibilities for an Advent program. Step #1 of worksheet #1 below should be helpful in this process. Once a list of possibilities has been generated, each of them should be briefly evaluated.

The next step should be to submit the possibilities to the students and parents. Each teacher should work out with her/his students the remaining steps on worksheet #1 until they have put together a program for themselves. The parents should be brought in at least in two ways. A letter to all parents explaining the whole service thrust and specific ideas for Advent is a minimum. In addition, it might be good to set up the October PTA meeting as a thorough discussion of the program.

#### 3. November Faculty Meeting

Here teachers should share what their classes have decided to do for Advent, both as a way of supporting one another and of checking out similar areas of concern. Teachers whose activities overlap should meet during or soon after the meeting to work out coordination of efforts and then meet occasionally as the program proceeds in order to evaluate progress together. Individuals working alone should pair up, so that each faculty member has someone to report to occasionally during the program, as a little accountability mechanism and for mutual support.

Part of the faculty meeting could well be spent brainstorming ways of integrating these activities into the regular curriculum. See above (#1) for a way of doing this.

## 4. December

Weekly evaluations by each individual and team of the progress of the program are important, especially because of its experimental nature. These evaluations enable groups and individuals to modify plans, to further involve students, and generally to persevere in their efforts. If the faculty wants to meet as a whole group for midway evaluation and revision, fine, but this is a busy time and such a meeting might not be possible. See worksheet #2 as a possible tool.

## 5. January Faculty Meeting

Here, the written evaluations (see worksheet #2) are briefly discussed, with emphasis on enjoying successes and on what could have been done differently. Student reactions to the Advent activities should also be shared. The second half of the meeting would be similar to October--brainstorming possible Lenten service activities. More comfortable with the whole idea and process, the faculty might be ready to look for more justice kinds of activities. The Advent probably were (and should be, unless the students were ready for more) more mercy oriented. Also, the faculty might identify a particular issue focus, like world hunger. The brainstormed possibilities would then be taken back to the students and parents for input.

## 6. February Faculty Meeting

Similar to November, the decisions made by each class (using worksheet #1, if helpful) should be shared with the rest of the faculty. Classes with similar plans should then have their teachers meeting to work out coordination. One possibility that would require total faculty effort would be setting up Ash Wednesday as an awareness day on whatever issue(s) the school would be focused. Again, groups working on the same or similar activities would work together. Individuals working alone would pair up. They would meet on a regular basis during Lent to compare notes and support one another.

## 7. March Faculty Meeting

This should be set about two weeks into Lent, so that a group evaluation of the program would take place. Secondly, the remaining four weeks of Lent could be revised or more fully planned, depending on what had happened already.

## 8. April Faculty Meeting

Here, the Lenten program would be evaluated as a total group, as would the entire year. If the faculty (and students and parents) want to continue to develop the program preliminary plans for the following year could be discussed. These plans would be submitted to students and parents for input and then somewhat finalized at a final meeting in May.

## C. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The theme of Christian service should also be woven into the liturgical celebrations of the school and parish, as a way of educating the adults and of deepening the meaning of both the Eucharist and service. Adult education programs in the parish could be integrated with this service program, as could the work of a social action committee (if one exists).

# WORKSHEET FOR DEVELOPING AN ACTION PLAN

## STEP ONE: (total group)

Brainstorming of possible actions

## STEP TWO: (individually)

A. Identify one specific action that can be implemented during the \*\*\* weeks project

B. State your goal for the project

## STEP THREE: (total group)

Sharing of the specific action (step 2 - part A) with the total group

## STEP FOUR: (like action groups)

To outline the implementation of the plan -- the following may be useful  
A. List the various parts of the action

B. Arrange the parts in sequential order

C. The teacher's role

D. The Parents' role

E. The students' role

F. The role of other necessary groups

G. Role of liturgy - classroom prayer

H. Steps of evaluation -- Kind of evaluation tool

I. What future does this one action have?

## STEP FIVE: (like action groups)

Have you the time and resources to accomplish your goal? If so, GREAT! MOVE AHEAD! If not, RESTATE YOUR GOAL

WEEKLY EVALUATION TOOL: (to be individually completed and then shared with at least one other person at the end of each week.)

1. DO YOU STILL HAVE YOUR END GOAL IN MIND? Restate it briefly.

2. LIST THE STEPS OF THE PROJECT THAT HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

3. EVALUATE THE FOLLOWING:

How involved have the various groups been?

Is more involvement needed to accomplish the goal?

STUDENTS	great deal somewhat not at all	yes	no
PARENTS:	great deal somewhat not at all	yes	no
LITURGY AND PRAYER	great deal somewhat not at all	yes	no
OTHER GROUPS	great deal somewhat not at all	yes	no

4. DO CHANGES IN THE ORIGINAL PLAN NEED TO BE MADE?  
WHAT?? WHEN??

HOW??

5. LIST THE STEPS THAT NEED TO BE TAKEN IN THE NEXT FIVE DAYS.

6. BRIEFLY STATE ALL THE OTHER PARTS THAT NEED TO BE COMPLETED IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THE GOAL.



## INSTITUTIONAL SIMPLICITY: A STYLE ANY SCHOOL CAN CHOOSE

Miss Markley teaches 8th grade at St. Jude's Catholic School. When she joined the faculty four years ago, she was thrilled at the way the principal spoke about Christian values permeating the school and how everyone hired must study the school philosophy and understand the system of values they were buying into. Miss Markley supposed all the faculty did and still do value cooperation, sharing, nonviolence, simplicity, and all the rest of the set of values that put human beings ahead of systems; but nobody ever talks about these values except to bemoan the parents' setting up a soccer league for primary children. The teachers in primary talk about how the competition and rough play hurt their students, but it never goes beyond talk. Nobody mentions world hunger except just before Thanksgiving and at the Mission Carnival. Probably everyone is against war, but they never talk about working actively for peace. Alone, Miss Markley feels unable to cope with the urgency of global issues, so she buries herself in her own classroom work and tries to forget about the rest of the world. But sometimes she wonders whatever happened to all those ideals embedded in the school philosophy.

This article is an attempt to help teachers like Miss Markley develop some strategies for change in their own schools--change which carries with it the power to teach students and staff and faculty and parents new ways of looking at the world and making it a better place to live.

These strategies flow from a value system built on my belief in nonviolent social change. I want to provide opportunities for everyone in a school to cooperate, to win together. I want children to enjoy simple celebrations together rather than feel they must have a lot of things or spend a lot of money to be happy. I want to change the structures of schools and corporations and governments so that children and adults are better able to make our own decisions about what we learn and where we work and whether a city will build mass transit or roads for private automobiles. This paper is not a philosophy paper but a list of specific strategies that can be done in a school. They are all small actions in themselves and even taken all together they will not change the world. But they can change your school by fostering a sense of community and a sense of power to effect change.

This set of strategies deal only with some issues of simplicity, primarily with food-related issues. School decision-making is another place to begin, but no one can say everything all at once; so I've limited myself to just one theme. The strategies fit into three stages. They can be used with a little adaptation in elementary, secondary, and college systems. Your school may have done some of the activities listed in all three stages. But the point is to put together a lot of different opportunities for action on behalf of justice with the long-term goal of helping members of the school become more overtly conscious of their participation in social change.

First, look around at what the school has done already. You have probably collected food for the hungry in your city or town. You've probably collected money. Perhaps clothes, used toys to be fixed up for Christmas, soup labels for a kidney machine, or the boy scout paper drive were projects your school sponsored. Make a list of these and start talking about them. Talk to other teachers, your homeroom, administrators, coaches about how fine the response was and how we need to build on that response. What do you do next? Some appropriate actions for what I call Stage I are listed below:

### Stage I: Taking Individual Action To Alleviate Human Need

1. Insist that a speaker come from any agency the school has collected goods or money for to tell the students and faculty and staff how those goods and moneys are used. School members deserve the opportunity to hold agencies accountable and to hear the follow-up on their collection activities. Such talks also remind folks that their past efforts met a need but new needs exist now. So some members of the school become stirred to new actions.
2. One high school student council did not want to collect food again for Thanksgiving because they felt competition was so strong among homerooms that shoots of generosity were strangled. Besides, homeroom teachers felt storing the canned goods and delivering them was a burden. So the students decided to try to line the front hall with cans of food. They did not reject the chance to help the poor by choosing the luxury of ending competition but rather they found a new creative way of promoting school-wide community and acting as a community to help the poor.

3. At another school, many students did not want to give just at Thanksgiving and Christmas when the poor are poor all the time. So during lent they put a coin box by the cafeteria cash register and students put change in it. They agreed the money would help support a local senior citizens' "meals on wheels" program during the summer. No one announced how much money was collected. Some nights the box was left by mistake out in the cafeteria. There was no pressure to put money in, but at the end of the 6 weeks they had given enough money to support "meals on wheels" through the whole summer.
4. Two 6th grade students determined one day to stand in front of a soda machine at school and offer their peers cups of water in exchange for their quarters, the money to go to a world hunger fund. The teacher who told me about this activity took it for granted, but I marvel at the risk those students were willing to take for a value they believed in. Such individual actions ought to be encouraged in schools.
5. Another kind of activity that you as teacher can offer to students is the CROP weekend--a 36 hour fast. CROP is a Lutheran group that leads such weekends to help people experience and reflect on hunger. It is an opportunity for students, administrators, staff, faculty, and parents to be together and share a strong experience. Probably not very many people will sign up for such an experience, but the 20 that do choose it form a nucleus who are ready to lead and to support other school activities. Further, the school community all grow in the image that you are people who care about world hunger and take actions to alleviate it.
6. If several of the above activities take place in your school, some of the school members will probably say, "That's all very well, but I look how much waste we have here at our own cafeteria." That's true, and Stage I is the time to begin to deal with school food waste. Reflect thoughtfully on the problem with other teachers and students. Some administrators and teachers have been able to establish and maintain a free table where people put the food they do not want and others take that food and eat it. It is not easy to keep up a "free table." Students who are truly poor will be afraid of being singled out or that their dignity will be diminished. Students may mock the idea or show off by being conspicuously wasteful. But a small, determined group of school members can make it work by treating the idea seriously. Soon those who have forgotten or don't have lunch or money will gladly eat the extra food and remember to share when they do have something extra.
7. Now the moderator of the ecology club may want to get into the act, collecting beer cans or paper or testing the air for pollution. She may remind you that the club has been active in social issues for years. Right on. This is evidence school members are more willing to state their values publicly. If your school has no ecology club, encourage the scientists to start one--to collect waste paper in the school, coke cans, etcetera. Perhaps they could use half of any money gained for school projects and the other half for food for the hungry. The more opportunities for action you encourage, the larger the group of people who will be involved.
8. If your school has a religious affiliation, care should be taken to include the needs of the hungry and to express sorrow for our selfishness and thanks for opportunities to learn together. Songs, scripture readings, and homilies should be carefully chosen.
9. Don't forget that subject matter is being taught behind all those hall doors every day. Encourage social studies teachers in their effort to teach global economics and other crucial issues. Promote courses on Thoreau and Gandhi and Jane Addams.

These ideas carried out make up Stage I. Together they create an atmosphere in the school where members think of themselves as concerned citizens who do take action to help others. Probably no student will participate in all or most of the above activities. A lot of students will drop out and not see an activity through to the end. What is needed is an adult or two who stick with these ideas and don't give up on them so when students return they again find a place for themselves. Students need to test out a lot of activities and behaviors but they deserve some adult models of constancy.

### Stage III. Taking Corporate Action To Relieve Human Need

As students grow in thinking of themselves as concerned and responsible members of society, they need to learn that they are also members of corporate bodies like their school, their church, their nation, scouts, etcetera. They are responsible for their own actions but also for the actions done in their names by the corporate bodies they belong to. Further, they have power to influence the actions done by those corporate bodies.

Now you are ready to enter on Stage II. The question here is: how can we change the order of our involvement in society? How can we move from bandaid relief to structural change? Food drives are important and we don't want to stop collecting food, but are there actions that can help us grow more individually and as a school community and be more useful to the world in the long run?

Probably you are already doing some Stage II activities. Perhaps at Halloween your students collect for UNICEF. You may already sponsor a walk or bike ride for development. These activities link the school with larger agencies that have long range social goals. Once students have begun to think of themselves as persons who respond to immediate human need, they and we are ready to think of ourselves as part of a group effort who participate in corporately responsible actions. When the speaker from UNICEF comes to report on how the money your school collected was used, ask her or him to stress the transnational linkages of the organization and how our participation is expressive of our global citizenship.

Some other Stage II activities are:

1. Have a school poverty meal where everyone pays the regular lunch price but only a scoop of rice is served and the money all goes to a hunger fund. Then reflect in small groups on what it feels like to be hungry.
2. Hold a PTA potluck supper where all the main dishes are meatless. Ask everyone to bring a copy of the recipe for their meatless dish and print them in a cookbook. Be sure to put the author's name by each recipe. The cookbook may be high in cholesterol and not nutritionally sound, but it is a product from a pleasant evening which will be useful to families that want to cut down on the cost of food and will remind people in a gentle manner that eating meat is more wasteful than eating fish or cheese or grain. Further, the cookbook can be sold and the profit given to Bread for the World or another change agency.
3. Have a homeroom or class lunch where everyone brings responsible food to share with everyone else. What does responsible mean? That is the question for discussion at the lunch. Was it irresponsible to bring paper plates? Without them, how could we have all shared the cottage cheese and the enchiladas? Is Coke responsible? Homemade bread? Fruit? Bagels and cream cheese? Homemade preserves? The food will be good and the party should be pleasant--but simpler than class lunches often are.
4. Hopefully, by the time you get this far, the boycott of iceberg lettuce will be over. And again hopefully your school cafeteria has been boycotting iceberg lettuce for years. But if there is a boycott of some food or school materials (like Honeywell camera equipment--because Honeywell makes anti-personnel weapons) and if your food buyers or administrators were unwilling in the past to support such a boycott, now is the time to try again. Students and faculty who maintain a free table, who give generously to the poor, who link with global agencies, deserve to be listened to when they make a thoughtful presentation to the people who buy for the institution. The school environment is more supportive than it was a year ago and the sincerity and generosity of the community are real factors to be considered when individuals change their stance on boycotts and other strong actions.
5. Similarly, students might initiate a move to have less meat served in the cafeteria and more soybeans and other nourishing substitutes.
6. Classes of younger students might try eating bread and peanut butter and milk at lunch every day for a week. It is a nourishing meal and will provide plenty of protein, but it is a boring meal and students can reflect with the teacher on hunger and the boredom of only having rice and what it would mean if the peanut butter and milk were not nutritious.

7. One more food suggestion is that students set up a tasting table of the more exotic meat substitutes such as bean sprouts (school grown) and roasted soy beans and soy bread and garbanzo beans. They might provide such a table for the break when the school board meets or they might invite civic leaders to come to school and have a taste. By giving people new experiences, we are assisting in changing and redirecting our culture. This is not exactly a corporate strategy, but it is a much more sophisticated action for social change than those listed in Stage I.
8. Kris Kringle is an old Christmas custom that might be revived in religious schools. During advent everyone draws the name of another school member and in secret does nice things for that person. At Christmas, or Hanukkah, everyone exchanges homemade or simple gifts. Introduced by itself, such a custom might be laughed at, but I think it has a good chance of survival within the context of growing institutional simplicity.

Note that all the actions suggested in Stage II either link the school with other organizations or are corporate decisions made by all the members of a group. By making decisions to act as a body, the school members are developing and carrying out the values which are probably implicit in their philosophy.

### Stage III: Effective Social Change

Finally we move to Stage III. Here we are searching for ways to effect institutional change. This is the most difficult area for schools and for the rest of us too. One practice your school may have adopted already is to give credit to students for work in social service agencies. This practice is changing the structure of the school if not the agency. Some other ideas are:

1. This idea is my piece de resistance, the inspiration really from which the rest of this article flowed. I think that in a school where a strong tradition of social concern was established, the junior class would be able to choose against the traditional class rings that cost \$35 to \$50 and choose instead to spend the money buying rings from a 3rd world industry. The rings would be designed and made in another country and shipped here. Finding craftsmen, selecting a design, negotiating customs would all be formidable tasks. But the students would understand that their money was promoting skilled work in a small village where a real impact on the economy would be felt. Probably arrangements would be made through a teacher or parent with friends in that village to help conduct the negotiations. Hopefully, the rings would carry deeper meaning for the students. But they could not give up the tradition lightly of getting rings from a familiar place in a style just like their older siblings'. Such a choice by an entire class would symbolize the strivings of the whole school to seek a new value system and a new style.
2. Kurika College in Illinois has developed another activity that reaches the core of institutional change. They have reinstituted the practice of gleaning. They ask permission of farmers to go through the fields after the harvest and glean or collect the ears of corn missed by the machines. These they sell and give the proceeds to hunger funds. This activity confronts the waste of modern agricultural methods and the waste of our standard and style of living. It places students directly in the commodities exchange system when they sell their gleanings. The income goes to the hungry.
3. Students who engage in such activities are capable of becoming part of other institutional changes. They may help the administration make purchasing decisions and investigate suppliers for their hiring policies and for whether they make war products or engage in 3rd world oppression. Students can also be part of hiring committees and be encouraged to ask hard questions about the racial composition of the faculty. They can evaluate textbooks, choose which sports to stress in their school, and take on the role of colearners with their parents and teachers.

To choose to participate in such a three-stage strategy is to promote institutional change in your school. A chief side-effect will be the explicit development of a body of values among all the members of the school. Such a development may have painful moments but it will also provide the satisfaction of good conversation about important ideas and school members will be enheartened to take on other agendas for achieving justice and peace, even unto the changing of the world.



At the bottom of it all, there is a basic conviction that the Gospel challenges us with a mandate, not an option, to serve one another. The words of the Lord are very strong. "You address me as 'Teacher' and 'Lord', and fittingly enough, for that is what I am. But if I washed your feet -- I who am Teacher and Lord -- then you must wash each other's feet. What I just did was to give you an example: as I have done, so you must do." (John 13: 13-15)

And so, we educators have to ask ourselves some serious questions: Are we proclaimers of the Gospel message, including the message that requires us to be recognized by our love and service to one another?

Do we offer our students the chance to learn community-building through service? Knowing that our students are young and inexperienced and that they don't have organizational skills, are we willing to invest the time and energy needed to help them participate actively in the work of building the Kingdom?

Besides the strong motivation offered by the Gospel and the Church, there are sound pedagogical principles that warrant a service program in schools. Experiential learning needs no justification for today's educator. Helping other people and participating in works on behalf of justice are important for character development. As they prepare for adulthood, children need to learn to care for others, to be other-directed and not just consumers. Our society preys on the consumerism of the young. They are taught through television and many other more subtle ways, that getting is better than giving. Involvement in service teaches children that they are needed, that their efforts can make a difference, that institutions can be changed, that cooperation is more satisfying than competition, that helping other people is hard work and demands commitment. A service program can teach children to question America's way of life, and so promotes citizenship in the best sense.

Service contributed by students benefits the community. Children are a tremendous resource that is largely untapped. They are capable of doing many things, and if they were allowed to, could free other people to do things that require skills that they, as adults, have acquired. Service also benefits the school by bringing about good relationships between the school and individuals or community agencies that are benefiting from the service offered by students. Also, accomplishments by students in service projects makes it possible for the school to acknowledge excellence in areas other than academic pursuits or athletics.

Opportunities for service can also give students a chance to experience career options.

#### THE HISTORY OF ONE PROGRAM

Incarnation Continuous Progress School in south Minneapolis began a student service program five years ago. At the beginning of this venture there was no well-worked-out philosophy of service -- just a conviction that we needed to find ways to help our students experience faith community, become more involved in the school, and learn to be more giving. All the homerooms in grades 1 - 8 became responsible for a school activity or project, to be carried out of the entire year. Also, we began a shared-work program which meant that each homeroom was responsible for the upkeep and cleaning of the room and certain other areas of the school building. The idea of being accountable to one other took hold. An unexpected bonus from this was that desks and walls were rarely marked up, and littering in halls, rooms and the playground decreased sharply.

Some of the projects undertaken during the first two years of our service program were the following:

##### Lower Primary (grades 1 and 2)

- Working with one convalescent home, doing something for the residents on a monthly basis
- Preparing a friendship paraliturgy
- Organizing playground games
- Mission collections
- Serving as office messengers

## Upper Primary (grades 3 and 4)

- Working on good grooming and courtesy as a way of respecting self and others
- Cleaning up litter from halls and playground
- Doing something special for another homeroom each month

## Middle School (grades 5 and 6)

- Organizing an intramural sports program that would involve all students during the lunch period
- Writing weekly letters to elderly parishioners
- Surprising younger children in the school with hand-made gifts at holiday times
- Preparing food baskets for the poor
- Conducting a courtesy and kindness campaign
- Raking the school grounds and shoveling the sidewalks and Church steps during the winter

## Junior High (grades 7 and 8)

- Setting up chairs in the school auditorium for class assemblies
- Babysitting at the Church nursery during Sunday Masses
- Assembling the parish Sunday bulletin
- Delivering audio-visual equipment throughout the school
- Teacher-aiding

This listing shows that at first, the service program was done almost entirely within the school. Under the leadership and encouragement of our principals, the staff gradually became convinced that the service program was a very practical way of helping our students experience and not just learn about the Christian life style. We decided to encourage their efforts on behalf of the larger community. The Pastoral To Teach As Jesus Did gave us great impetus. We were affirmed in our belief that service is the hallmark of a Christian as surely as owning the message of the Lord and sharing life in the Christian community. We decided to begin with the junior high students by starting the school year with a religion unit on service and then asking that they commit themselves in writing to a service project outside of school on their own time for the year. Each homeroom teacher helped her/his students choose a project, and we had regular conferences to encourage and help them carry through. The students kept a service journal to record weekly what they did and their insights and reactions to it. We had a meeting with parents to explain this new dimension of our program and to elicit their ideas and support.

Since this modest beginning, our service program has evolved into an integral part of our religion curriculum. Each fall we have an evening liturgy for our families during which the students present their signed service commitment forms. Parent involvement has grown to the point where they talk over the service options with their children and then sign a commitment of their own which promises various degrees of involvement. This year at our service liturgy, parents accompanied their sons and daughters to the altar and presented their commitments also. (A copy of both forms is included as well as this year's liturgy.)

In alternate years, when we have Confirmation, students who wish to be confirmed are asked to show evidence that they are willing to accept a new measure of responsibility to the Christian community in three ways: 1) by expressing during an interview with one of our priests that they wish to be confirmed and why; 2) by promising fidelity to their service project; 3) and by writing to the Bishop to request Confirmation and to explain their service commitment. During the ceremony, they present their commitment forms to the parish council president, who represents our parish faith community.

As a result of ever-deepening insights into the challenge of the Gospel and the needs of our world, we have begun to encourage our students to consider works on behalf of justice when they are choosing their area of service. This year we have students involved on a weekly basis with the local office of the United Farm Workers, Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, and recycling paper and aluminum. The list will grow as we search out new opportunities and do the necessary foot and phone work.

## EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

What can be said of our program now that it is five years old? Much that is positive. Teachers, students, and increasingly their parents, have a growing conviction that service is truly a constitutive dimension of the Christian life. With each year, we experience less student apathy about service projects. This fall, most of the students were excited and eager to choose a project that would challenge their ability to give. A key to this success is the involvement of teachers with students in some of the projects. One teacher accompanies students to a nursing home each month and helps them learn how to talk with elderly people. Another takes a group to UPW headquarters each week, works side by side with them, and helps plan fund-raising activities. Two others coordinate the recycling project and stay with the students at the truck on collection days. Two others work with the Student Community Service Committee to help develop leadership in service among the students who belong to it. There is a teacher/coordinator for each project, and we meet with the students on a monthly basis to check progress and iron out any difficulties that come up. Twelve and thirteen year olds need interested adults to help them be successful in their efforts to extend themselves to others. They become easily discouraged without that kind of support.

We have found that giving meaningful service helps students to grow in self-confidence and a conviction of their own worth. The atmosphere of our school becomes more positive and affirming and friendly each year, and we feel that this is largely due to our emphasis on concern for others and the responsibility each individual has to contribute uniquely to our community. The in-school service carried out in the first six grades is a very effective preparation for service to the outside community that is undertaken in the junior high years. Because we are convinced that the rationale for our service program is sound, we are willing to evaluate ourselves in terms of the strong statement in To Teach As Jesus Did:

The success of the Church's educational mission will also be judged by how well it helps the Catholic community to see the dignity of human life with the vision of Jesus and involve itself in the search for solutions to the pressing problems of society. Christians are obliged to seek justice and peace in the world. Catholics individually and collectively should join wherever possible with all persons of good will in the effort to solve social problems in ways which consistently reflect Gospel values. (10)

In recommending a service program to other schools, our experience encourages us to make some suggestions:

1. Begin, but begin with shared conviction. This undertaking can't be organized or accomplished by one staff member. The concerned witness and involvement of all teachers will speak more eloquently than all the religion classes in the world. Service flows naturally from community. Discuss the meaning of faith community with the whole faculty. Examine the Gospels and articulate for yourselves Jesus' mandate to those who would follow him. Read and discuss together To Teach As Jesus Did. Talk together about how you do or could promote community-building in your school among faculty members and between you and your students.
2. Seek the support of your parish priests. They are an invaluable source of assistance and could offer leadership in liturgies and prayer services around the theme of service. They can also make the parish community aware of the school's efforts to extend itself into the larger community. Ideally, the parish should model faith community for its younger members. However, especially if the parish is large, the school can be an example to the parishioners of a community of faith extending itself in efforts of peace-making and justice-seeking.
3. Contact community agencies that are involved in promoting peace and justice issues. Many of them are delighted at the prospect of service from students on a regular basis. Also, it gives them an opportunity to extend their influence, because their message reaches from students to their parents.

4. Invite representatives from community service agencies to the school to talk with students about their work. Let them discuss with the students ways that they could become involved. It is a very good experience for students to talk with people who are actively committed to service themselves. We have found that students responded best to those service options that were introduced by an outside speaker.
5. Compile a list of service project possibilities so the students can take it home and talk it over with their parents. This increases parent interest and support and also enhances the dimension of choice, which is so meaningful to adolescents. (Our list for this year is included.)
6. Highlight the service accomplishments of the students through letters to parents, articles in the Church bulletin, announcements at parish liturgies, or any other means that can spread the good news.
7. If your student population is small enough to make the following suggestion workable, think about the possibility of giving a weekly block of school time to community service. This could also make total faculty involvement a reality.

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## LIVING JUSTICE AND PEACE

## GOALS AND RELEVANCE

A. In various parts of this Manual, we have discussed aspects of the life-style of a person committed to peace and justice. These have included "multicultural living" (see MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND LIVING), "living interdependently" (see GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE), and "action on behalf of justice" or a life of service where service includes the works of justice as well as the works of mercy (see WORLD HUNGER and TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS). The underlying understanding of "justice" and "peace" is presented in Part II, THE MEANING OF PEACE AND JUSTICE.

B. If individuals are concerned about building a world of peace and justice, it seems imperative that they begin to ask questions about their own life-style. We see a person of peace and justice as living a simple, non-material, sharing kind of life, working to reduce consumption levels that have produced a situation whereby 64 of the world's population consumes about 40% of the world's resources. The WORLD HUNGER unit discusses eating more simply or responsibly. Here we explore other aspects of simplicity.

C. To explore the possibilities for community and personal responsibility in the lives of teachers and students.

D. For the school, as well as teachers, to become a witness to parents, students, and the wider community of the values of justice and peace. For all of us to realize the importance of building the alternative, as part of any effective strategy for social change. Until people can see the theory or ideals "fleshed out" and practiced, the ideals remain unattainable in their minds.

## CONTENT AND ACTIVITIES

## I. Community

## A. Why is building community so important?

1. Urban living, particularly in a competitive society. Especially in cities, dozens of factors now seem to contribute to fragmentation of the natural community of humanity (e.g. now seem to contribute to fragmentation of the natural community of humanity (e.g., overcrowding, waste of natural resources and beauty for industrial purposes, insufficient food and medical care). Because of the isolation and fragmentation of modern technologized life, people need to know where a basis of peace can be found, or where they are at home. If we are involved in the quest for peace, perhaps we already have found people with whom we are very much at home.

2. Hope. Community enlivens hope, so necessary since peace-making is such a long-range, generally frustrating, task.

3. Challenge. A community can challenge or call people to live up to their ideals.

It is easy to run away, as it were, when no one else is around.

4. Sharing, simplicity, security. One of the real problems of living in an affluent society built on "rugged individualism" is the fear of not being able to provide for oneself or especially one's family. If I don't take care of my family, who will? ask the millions of bread-winners. Community is the alternative to the necessity of each family providing itself with a complete set of appliances, garden tools, vehicles. Communities of various dimensions allow for the sharing of resources, the simplifying of one's consumption, and for the sense of economic and personal security without which millions of Americans are paralyzed into inaction or into conforming, even when they don't want to.

## B. Different types of levels of community.

1. Pooling of talents, goods, services. A St. Louis group of which we are members decided to make a list one evening of all the talents and resources each member had and was willing to share with the rest and with any other person with whom the other members were in contact. The list included baby-sitting, home repairs, transportation, a bed for runaway teenagers or others in need of temporary living quarters, typing, finances, bedside nursing, cooking, a van, a record player, sewing, expert gift wrapping, and other items. In Omaha, a similar group operates through the Center for the Pursuit of Peace and is called the Consumer Goods Co-op. Call 402-341-0736.

2. Prayer communities. In addition to, or at the base of, a number of the communities of which some of us are parts, is shared prayer and all that flows from that. The celebration of major religious feasts in families' home with other families, the education of children through such celebrations and other such occasions like group poverty meals (see below), the consequent involvement in the lives of one another's children have deepened the sharing of talents and resources and the concern that are part of community at level #1.

3. Work communities. Many different possibilities exist at this level. At the Peace Institute and other similar groups, income is pooled and divided according to the needs of the staff members. All staff members share in the "secretarial" jobs, so as to free each member for more creative projects. Eating together occasionally, playing together too, are important. In a much different setting, a friend was senior person to the "bond" division of his stock brokerage. With himself and 4 others in the division working in part on commissions, commissions gained at the expense of the others--competition--there wasn't much of a community, at least until he suggested, as senior person and highest paid, that commissions be pooled. The atmosphere changed

dramatically, and the 5 began to relate as persons.

#### 4. Living communities.

5. Classroom community. See MUTUAL EDUCATION, pp. 295ff.

#### C. Teaching suggestions

1. See the world futuring exercises discussed among other places in the unit on PEACE IS POSSIBLE, pp. 14-16.

2. See the communication skills and conflict resolution skills discussed in MUTUAL EDUCATION AND CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, pp. 23ff.

3. Green Circle. One excellent plan for teaching young children about community is the "Green Circle program." This flannel board presentation begins with a picture of you inside your circle as a baby. You did not know or care about anybody besides yourself. Soon your circle of awareness and caring extended to your parents, then family, friends and neighborhood, and finally to include all the people in the world, even those difficult to accept. Green Circle Volunteers in many cities will come to classrooms to provide this experience for children. See the description of this program in GLOBAL AWARENESS, pp. 167ff. Song-sheets, etc., and seven or eight excellent follow-up programs are available, which highlight different aspects of the family of persons (see BIBLIOGRAPHY).

4. For older elementary children, some excellent teaching tools can encourage and facilitate thinking in terms of broader community, especially the community of the entire world. For this, the "Spaceship Earth," a simulation game, is excellent. See Global Awareness, pp. 146-47, for an introductory description of it. See also the "Global City Project," with its concern for building the "Global City," in GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE, p. 149, and also for what it means to "live inter-dependently" (pp. 150-51).

## II. Simplicity or Poverty

### A. Why?

#### 1. Justice.

While Gandhi believed radically that no person is entitled to own anything that everyone else cannot own at the same time -- a radical equality -- at least every person should accept that 6% of the world's population have no moral claim to 40% of the world's resources. If the goods of the earth are for persons, in order to work out a human existence, then they are available to all persons, regardless of their physical or economic power to secure these goods. When Americans realize that the relative ease with which they are able to purchase imports from the Third World -- relatively cheap prices, in general -- means that workers on Guatemalan coffee plantations, for instance, receive insufficient wages for a human existence, then Americans need to be willing to pay more for

coffee. Since that will mean less money for more luxury goods, then the luxury goods must go, not the Guatemalan workers. See GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY, pp. 111-113, and WORLD HUNGER, pp. 134-35.

2. Human Development. In a society where a person often is identified more by what she has than by what she is, we must begin to reverse the direction. Material goods can be a false substitute for human worth, contribution to the common good, a sense of real fulfillment. See PROPAGANDA AND ADVERTISING and GOSPEL OF JESUS VS. GOSPEL OF AMERICAN CULTURE, especially pp. 249-52.

#### 3. Singlemindedness.

Possessions are often a distraction, a "fetter" as Gandhi viewed them. While a lack of material necessities can enslave a person, so too can a surfeit of such possessions. They can make it difficult for her to pick up and go where she feels God or the human community is calling her.

#### 4. Identification and Redemption.

For Gandhi and others, it is a sense and reality of "oneness" with the whole human family that is at the heart of nonviolence and a human existence. With the majority of the world's population impoverished in serious ways, such a oneness seems to demand some sort of simplicity -- here, as a reduction in consumption of all sorts -- in order to be able to be one. Gustavo Gutierrez, in A Theology of Liberation, the section entitled "Poverty: Solidarity and Protest," discusses the redemptive character of poverty. Building on 2 Corinthians 8:9 ("For you know how generous our Lord Jesus Christ has been: He was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that through his poverty you might become rich"), Gutierrez writes: poverty

"has a redemptive value. If the ultimate cause of man's exploitation and alienation is selfishness, the deepest reason for voluntary poverty is love of neighbor... It is not a question of idealizing poverty, but rather of taking it on as it is -- an evil -- to protest against it and to struggle to abolish it. As Ricoeur says, you cannot really be with the poor unless you are struggling against poverty. Because of this solidarity -- which must manifest itself in specific action, a style of life, a break with one's social class -- one can also help the poor and exploited to become aware of their exploitation, and seek liberation from it. Christian poverty, an expression of love, is solidarity with the poor and is a protest against poverty... It is a poverty which means taking on the sinful condition of people to liberate them from sin and all its consequences." (pp. 300-301).

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### B. How?

1. The first step might be to pool resources with other like-minded persons. Here there isn't any reduction, necessarily, in the amount of goods to which a person or family has access, but rather a reduction in total consumption and a matter of occasional inconvenience. Having your own of everything is convenient,

at least. Simplicity, it must also be noted, involves sacrificing other values, or it can. Using public transportation, clinics rather than personal physicians, etc., mean extra time that could be spent elsewhere. Also, the decision to forego the time-saving conveniences like dish-washers must involve serious discussion in a family, so that the wife does not bear the full burden of the simplifying process. The suggestions under "Community" are good starting points for simplicity through sharing.

2. Another first step would be to concentrate on reduction of one's consumption at Christmas and finding ways in which to celebrate a non-consumer, non-violent Christmas. See the "Alternate Christmas Catalogue." This valuable resource in a simple, ecologically sound, self-giving, service way of celebrating. Alternative gift suggestions abound. Great respect is paid to Native American values and ways of giving.

3. Another first step would be to have a "poverty meal," perhaps once a week, perhaps of bread and rice (typical of a poor person's meal in many parts of the Third World). Use this opportunity to learn more about some part of the world and set aside the money saved by the meal for some project or group in the Third World. This action is designed to raise our level of awareness of Third World poverty, to move us toward more meaningful forms of action, to help us identify with Third World peoples, and to be a first step toward much greater simplification of our lives. A family can do this easily, and it can also be done by a group of families together. As a group, responsibility for cultural or other kinds of presentations about the Third World (including the "Third World" situations in our own country) can rotate. Also, a school, or at least a class, might do it for lunch once a month or more often. See WORLD HUNGER, pp. 132-34, for other suggestions on food.

4. Consumerism--List the goods and services on which your lifestyle depends. Of these, which were not in general use 75 years ago? List all of the things which you would have to own in order to continue to live without great discomfort and inconvenience. How many of the other items (vacuum cleaners, cars, cameras, television sets, freezers, tools, etc.) could be more efficiently used if they were held in common? How many could you give up entirely? What would be the advantage and disadvantage of doing without them? Which make you dependent on centralized sources of energy, water, food, spare parts and the like?

This is an example of the self-generating approach to lifestyle changes discussed in Taking Charge (see BIBLIOGRAPHY).

5. Clothing--think of your clothes in terms of health, practicality, durability and personal expression, rather than style-exchange and clear out rather than accumulate clothes  
-use second-hand stores, garage sales, flea markets, free stores, etc. for buying and selling clothes,  
-make and remake clothes wherever possible, considering the best use of material, design and labor.

-use natural cloth instead of synthetics  
-keep clothes circulating. See to it that adequate clothing is available in the community for low cost or exchange through a variety of outlets. It is a good idea for possessions in general to keep things circulating in order that everyone gets a share.  
-pass it on

6. Work--investigate the possibilities of job and income sharing. Within a family this can be accomplished by the husband and wife working together at one job, or by each working part-time. Responsibility for income can be shared year by year or day by day. This deepens all involvement in both housekeeping and employment.

7. Hopefully, these small steps will lead us toward a more serious questioning of the whole of our lives and consumption habits.

C. What difference does all this make for the Third World?

1. First it must be pointed out, as it has been by people like Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil, that the social revolution will only take place in the Third World if there is a prior social or value revolution in the US. These actions, then, are designed as first steps in that revolution in our own country. Example spreads slowly but definitely, and it will take the integrity and authenticity of our lives, not our rhetoric, to move our fellow citizens.

2. Secondly, these steps are designed to lead to further steps, steps involving political action on a much larger level. For one, the formation of the Christian citizens' lobby, called Bread for the World, grew out of such first steps. See WORLD HUNGER, pp. 134

### III. Personal Responsibility

#### A. Mutual Education

The previous section of this Manual discussed the building of mutual responsibility for what goes on in the classroom, as first steps in learning to care for more than just my own life. Such opportunities for responsible action are essential first steps in the development of persons capable of taking responsibility for much larger issues and much more risky ones.

#### B. Moral responsibility for national actions.

##### 1. Rationale.

In a government which purports to be "of the people, for the people, and by the people," we citizens cannot escape our responsibility for what is done in our name, with our money, with our bodies, with our talents. The U.S. Government is not some abstract entity, though as an institution it has a life of its own,



almost irrespective of the persons involved.

In contrast with the prevailing position that a person should do what his government asks unless and until he is convinced that such action is morally wrong, it seems more consistent both with the Gospel and with reality to hold just the opposite--a person must be convinced of the value of what she is being asked to do or participate in some way before being willing to do so. First, concerning war, killing has always been at least the exception, if not outright condemned, to the Commandment "Thou Shall not kill." If it is interpreted as allowing some exceptions, such as in national self-defense, it must be seen as an exception. As an exception to a general rule, it must prove its case, not vice versa. Thus, our national language is backward: "conscientious objectors" should rather be called "conscientious affirmers" or the like, for "objectors" implies that they want to be considered an exception to some rule. Secondly, any presumption of the general wisdom and morality of any national government and its war policies ought to be dispelled. In the case of the U.S. in Vietnam, the Pentagon Papers revealed clearly that the Government was lying to the people and that the Government was doing what it perceived to be the wrong (tactically, here) despite strong urging in opposite directions. Thus, the U.S. Government demonstrated none of that wisdom or morality which must be evident before giving such a Government "the benefit of the doubt."

Finally, I am responsible for what I do, whether with my talents, body or money. I must account for these and thus have a duty to know for what purposes they are used. I cannot allow any one or group to substitute for my conscience.

## 2. Implementation

### a. What is done in my name.

I must keep informed about major issues, at least, before Congress and my state legislature, and call my representatives to a sense of responsibility on behalf of human life and all the values contained therein. This demands extensive information. A good way to keep up is through such organs as the Friends Committee on National Legislation and their monthly bulletin on pending legislation relating to peace and justice. Network's newsletter and quarterly reports represent a more thorough source of legislative information. See various units in this manual for newsletters pertaining to specific issue areas.

See the suggested activities for students outlined in the unit on PROPHETS: OLD TESTAMENT AND TODAY, pp. 246-47.

The task of keeping informed across a wide range of issues can be overwhelming when attempted alone. We suggest various kinds of study groups, ranging from a simple arrangement of several people getting together on a regular basis to share information and action possibilities on one issue per person to more demanding efforts such as the "Macro-Analysis Program" of the Movement of a New Society.

(1) People living together, such a religious community, could also take turns devoting extra time to peace and justice issues (we would suggest starting with one) and informing the others of developments and action possibilities. The others could take on some of that person's other work to free her for such study and reflection. Such an arrangement should involve rotation, so that each person develops a deeper awareness, some specific skills, and a sense of responsibility to others for "action on behalf of justice".

(2) Macro-Analysis--is a process whereby a group can systemically ask some of the most basic questions about the shape and workings of our present world order and their own lives. A 20-week study program as concerned about process as about content, macro-analysis focuses on the roots of the social and economic problems of the world and on the workings of the U.S. economic system. More specifically, the program of reading, discussion, and action examines environmental issues, problems in the U.S. economic system as it operates at home and overseas, envisioning alternative world and local futures, and working to get from "here to there."

### b. What is done with my body and talents.

It is essential that students evaluate potential careers, as well as the work they are currently involved in, in terms of service to the human community. This is true not only of participation in the military but also of all forms of employment. See the unit on WAR AND MILITARY SERVICE, pp. 283-84.

Any "career" days at school should find such questions being asked of speakers brought in, whether military, business, or service jobs. A good audio-visual source on the moral and economic questions involved in working for the military-industrial complex is "The McDonnell Film." This 20-minute film, produced by an alternative film group in St. Louis, is rich in interviews with McDonnell-Douglas personnel on these issues, "The Automated Air War" and "Guns or Butter: Uncle Sam's Military Tapeworm" (the first put out by NARMIC and the American Friends Service Committee in most cities; and the second by SANE--both available at our Institute) raise similar questions in a broader context.

See WORLD HUNGER, p. 135, for a discussion of helping students take a "stewardship" attitude toward their talents. This same concept permeates Part III on MUTUAL EDUCATION.

### c. What is done with my money.

#### (1) Taxes.

This is a difficult question for many, for it involves the possibility of conviction and jail, but nonetheless it is part of the same reasoning that pertains to personal responsibility. I do not leave it to others to decide what to do with my money, even though representatives. At least, I do not leave it totally to them, for it is my money that is enabling them to do something, whatever that is. For some, such responsibility has meant refus-



ing to pay that portion of their income taxes that go to war (about 55%-60%). For others, it has meant refusing to pay their telephone excise tax which was reinstated in the middle 1960s in order, according to Rep. Wilbur Mills who engineered the bill through the House of Representatives, to raise additional funds for Vietnam (the fighting in Vietnam).

One group that can provide legal advice, strategy advice, and personal support in such an area is the War Resisters League. In Kansas City, they are located at 306 W. 39th St., Kansas City, MO 64111.

Other groups include War Tax Resistance and the Peacemakers.

## (2) Investments.

The Justice and Peace office in Milwaukee has been putting together information on investments and corporate responsibility and have published something called the Corporate Responsibility Guide. Other groups involved in providing guidelines and directions for responsible investments are National Federation of Priests' Councils (read "Exploitation or Liberation: Ethics for Investors") and Corporate Information Center--see enclosed flyer on their publications, pp. 218. Religious communities especially should examine their investment portfolios, to make sure that their money is being used on behalf of human life or that their voices and power is being felt within those corporations that are not exercising their social responsibilities. The campaigns of Clergy and Laity Concerned--against Honeywell and now G.E., Boeing, and North American Rockwell for their role in the production of the B-1 Bomber--are instructive both on possible strategy and on developing the rationale on the social responsibility of corporations. Write CALC for details.

## (3) Banking.

Investigate alternative sources of banking like minority-owned banks or credit unions serving those in need. Be careful that such banks have an explicit policy of social responsibility. See if they make special provisions for minorities in their loan policies. Check out their board of directors. Investigate whether they are involved in "red-lining" poorer neighborhoods (refusing loans). Ask them to cite those areas that make them distinctive for someone interested in investing their funds with a bank with a sense of social responsibility. In most cities such research has been or is being done by such groups as housing coalitions.

## (4) Spending.

So many corporations are involved in practices destructive of human persons and human dignity that it is both essential to find out who and how and take appropriate action and difficult to find corporations who are not so involved. Thus, we find ourselves often choosing the lesser of several evils. Nevertheless, it is necessary to call these corporations

and businesses to a sense of their social responsibility. The argument used by some that they must serve whatever their customers want ignores their own responsibility to society. They do not operate in a value or moral vacuum, in a realm where the only concern is profit. Economics and business are only instruments, the ends are human well-being, human development. We suggest you purchase the Non-Buying Guide for Peace, from the Consumer Action Project, 1500 Farragut St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011. It outlines those corporations involved in war-making or exploitation and lists the products they produce that we might be using. Although produced in the early 1970's, much of it is still pertinent. "You Don't Have to Buy War Anymore, Mrs. Smith" (see p. 187) is a powerful film in this context.

## C. The need for community involvement on an on-going basis

1. For the reasons why and some practical suggestions on how, plus some first steps, see the enclosed essay by Mary Ann McGivern, S.L., "On Telling Kids We Are Part of an Unjust System," pp. 46-48.

2. For suggestions for field placements or the like in your locale, you might start with groups like AFSC, Campaign for Human Development offices, programs like the Institute for the and programs like ours in many cities.

## IV. Schools and the Living of Peace and Justice

### A. Why?

It is not just the teacher that must "put on", as it were, the values of peace and justice. Schools have a definite responsibility to play in society. Generally, however, schools decline to assume their responsibility, and, by refusal to involve themselves in "controversial" issues, they support the "status quo." Inaction is action. This is not to argue that schools should become "politicized"--actually, they already are. And this is true of secondary schools. JROTC, military recruiters on campus, and a speakers' policy that might be far more receptive to "status quo" political views are only three ways in which secondary schools are already politicized.

But rather than argue that schools should become involved in political action, we want to suggest that schools must at least stand up for moral values and witness to a different set of values when necessary. This is especially true for Christian and other religious schools, who have a definite value commitment, without which their existence makes no sense.

These values are the same as already enumerated. What needs to be done is to find ways in which schools can start

living out these values.

B. Community--See Mutual Education and Nonviolent Conflict Resolution

C. Simplicity--See "Institutional Simplicity" essay, pp. 329-331.

### 1. Sharing of materials, recycling.

Much is wasted by everyone having their own materials. Much greater use and development of libraries not only cuts down on book consumption but it also encourages cooperation and mutual responsibility and care. Parochial schools in many places have learned by necessity how to cut back on materials and how to re-use materials like back sides of paper. This is just one example to suggest a whole range of possibilities.

### 2. Dances, teas, fund-raising events

This is a much more serious area for concern, especially among private academies, and of these, especially religious ones. Such schools often feel that they must offer their students and parents the "style" they are accustomed to, whether this style is consistent with Gospel values or not. Why does the "best" cheese have to be served? Why all the expensive frills? How can these be justified, when so many have so little? The same argument that corporations use is unfortunately advanced here too--we must offer what our "customers" want. Nonsense! Despite the risks that such action probably will involve, Christian schools especially must witness to a different style of life. The school can reinforce immoral consumption habits or it can call its students, their parents, and the wider community to the kind of life demanded in our time.

Specifically, then, examine your dances, teas, fund-raising events. Can you find ways of having fun without spending so much? Try a variation of what some call a "non-movie party". Here, friends are invited to a movie that they all want to see, and then, instead of going to the movie, they get together at someone's house and have a liquor-less party, part of which is deciding how to channel the money they just saved to the Third World.

We are also concerned about the location of workshops and other events scheduled by groups like school systems. Often they are in suburban areas rather than cities and give the impression that the system or Church is following the money. Justice and peace workshops, especially, should state by their style, location, diversity of resource persons, etc. that it is possible to live consistently with our values. Commitment to our urban areas and to minority people in this country is certainly one of these values.

### D. Social Responsibility

#### 1. Employment responsibilities:

Programs like "Project Equality" call us to a sense of responsibility for promot-

ing fair employment practices among those businesses and services our schools and other groups call on for services. Non-cooperation is a duty, if cooperation with an enterprise means encouraging or at least silently acquiescing in their unjust practices. In this same vein, schools need to think seriously about their own hiring practices. See units on INSTITUTIONAL RACISM and WOMEN for further suggestions in this area and other areas of institutional involvement that affects minorities or women.

2. Sharing facilities with community groups. It is here that schools can make a real contribution to the community, especially private schools for whom there are far fewer restrictions.

#### 3. Sharing personnel.

Schools have an expertise that needs to be shared with society as a whole. While this is much more appropriate for universities, it is also true for all educational institutions. More pertinent, perhaps, is the suggestion that faculties might want to free at least one of their members to devote part-time her services to community groups struggling for justice or peace. This can be seen as part of professional training, just as taking a "methods" course at the local university. And the input that such a faculty member could make to the rest of the faculty, the improvement of her analysis and teaching that could result, all justify from a traditional perspective, such sharing of the school's resources. Religious communities, especially, should consider this. See Mary Ann McGivern's essay "On Telling Kids About Institutional Violence," pp. 46ff.

#### 4. Admissions policies.

See RACISM for a discussion of entrance exams, IQ tests, and minority students. Here we want to stress the moral responsibility of private and parochial schools not to become "havens" for students and parents fleeing the desegregation of the public schools around the country. Many schools and school systems are faced with this very real problem. One Catholic school system that responded courageously and that could be of help to others in similar situations is the Catholic School Office in Memphis, Tennessee. Write Superintendent of Schools, Diocese of Memphis, 1325 Jefferson, Memphis, Tenn. 38104.

### RESOURCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

See Bibliographies in TODAY'S PEACEMAKERS, GLOBAL AWARENESS, GOSPEL CALL TO PEACE AND JUSTICE, and elsewhere throughout this Manual.

Of special help here is The Quest for Justice, published by the Center for Concern 3700 13th St., NE, Washington, DC 20017. It contains a wealth of suggestions for implementing the 1971 Catholic Bishops Synodal document Justice in the World.

"Gandhi as Peacemaker," slide/tape available at our Institute, offers Gandhi as a model of peacemaking in our own society, and asks about life-style, building alternative structures, and political

action. Part II, "Institutional Violence: Peacemaking in the United States," is good in bringing Gandhian thinking to our own problems, particularly institutional violence.

Lifestyle is a "reflection/action workbook for those seeking greater freedom in their style of living and dying," by Mary Ellen Holohan, SNJM, and Carroll Ann Kemp, SNJM, and published by the National Assembly of Women Religious (201 E. Ohio, Chicago, IL 60611--806). It examines leisure, celebration, health, death and dying, facilities, housing, energy, personal possessions, clothes, food and drink, recreation, community dimensions of lifestyle, and education. It asks 3 types of questions: Those leading me to personal changes, those leading me to see how my community participates in those issues, and those opening up ways that my professional skills can promote simpler living..

Alternatives is a newsletter on alternative lifestyles, from the people who created the Alternate Celebrations Catalogue--P.O. Box 20626, Greensboro, NC 27420; \$5 a year.

Economics and the Gospel, by Richard Taylor. See p. 93.

CLUSTERS, Paul Chapman, editor. Published by Alternatives, 1501 Columbia Road, NW, Washington, DC 20009. Clusters is a packet of materials that offers lifestyle alternatives for families and single people. Part One discusses the problems of lifestyle in our world today. Part Two discusses alternatives to our present day lifestyle by examining the meaning of clusters, community of goods, decentralization and sex.

TAKING CHARGE, Palo Alto Packet Committee and the simple living program of the American Friends Service Committee of San Francisco, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, California, 94121. This is a process packet of materials for simple living. The materials will help individuals and/or groups explore how they may become more responsible beings in the global family. Social consequences of consumerism, community, health, food, economics are a few of the areas examined. Each content area offers questions, information, suggestions for action, and a bibliography.

# HELPFUL AGENCIES

These agencies are involved in work or materials related to peace and justice. Most of these are listed in the manual.

Action Against Apathy  
P.O. Box 11435  
St. Louis, MO 63105

Africa Research Group  
P.O. Box 213  
Cambridge, MA 02138

Agency for International Development  
2201 C Street NW  
Washington, DC 20006

Agribusiness Accountability Project  
1000 Wisconsin Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20007

American Civil Liberties Union  
8001 Clayton Road  
St. Louis, MO 63117

American Freedom for Hunger Foundation  
1717 H Street NW  
Washington, DC 20006

American Friends Service Committee  
(Nat'l) 160 N. 15th Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19102  
(Local) 438 N. Skinker  
St. Louis, MO 63130

American Lutheran Churchmen  
EVENT Magazine  
426 S. 5th Street  
Minneapolis, MN 55415

Arms Control Association  
11 Dupont Circle, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, DC 20451

Asia Society  
112 E. 64th Street  
New York, NY 10021

Association for Childhood Education International  
3615 Wisconsin Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20016

Association for Negro Life and History  
1407 14th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Bread for the World  
235 E. 49th Street  
New York, NY 10017

Campaign for Human Development  
(Nat'l) 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
(Local) 4445 Lindell Blvd.  
St. Louis, MO 63108

Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace  
67 Bond Street, Suite 305  
Toronto 2, Ontario, Canada

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 10017

Catholic Committee on Appalachia  
31-A S. 3rd Avenue  
Prestonsburg, KY 41653

Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry  
P.O. Box 606  
South Bend, IN 46624

Catholic Peace Fellowship  
339 Lafayette  
New York, NY 10012

Center for Concern  
3700 13th Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20017

Center for Conflict Resolution  
520 N. Lake  
Madison, WI 53715

Center for Defense Information  
201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

Center for International Education  
School of Education  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, MA 01002

Center for Peace Studies  
University of Akron  
Akron, OH 44325

Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament  
California State College  
5151 State College Drive  
Los Angeles, CA 90032

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, CA 93103



Center for the Study of Development and Social Change  
1430 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138

Center for the Study of Power and Peace  
110 Maryland Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

Center for Teaching About Peace and War  
Wayne State University  
754 University Center Bldg.  
Detroit, MI 48202

Center for Teaching International Relations  
Graduate School of International Studies  
University of Denver  
Denver, CO 80210

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors  
711 Dearborn Street  
Chicago, IL 60605

The Christophers  
12 E. 48th Street  
New York, NY 10017

Clergy and Laity Concerned  
235 E. 49th Street  
New York, NY 10017

Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy  
110 Maryland Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

COFFLA  
1500 Farragut Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20011

Commission for International Justice and Peace  
44 Grays Inn Road  
London, England WC1X8LR

Commission for Racial Justice  
United Church of Christ  
287 Park Avenue South  
New York, NY 10010

Committee for Action Through Education  
P.O. Box 4943  
St. Louis, MO 63108

Common Cause  
2030 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Community Crisis Intervention Center  
University of Missouri--St. Louis  
8001 Natural Bridge Road  
St. Louis, MO 63121

Community Psychological Consultants  
1740 Gulf Drive  
St. Louis, MO 63130

Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED)  
University of Colorado  
Boulder, CO 80302

Consumer Action Project  
1500 Farragut Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20011

Corporate Information Center  
475 Riverside Drive, Room 846  
New York, NY 10027

Council on Interracial Books for Children  
1841 Broadway  
New York, NY 10023

Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA)  
WORLDVIEW JOURNAL  
170 E. 64th Street  
New York, NY 10021

Detroit Metropolitan Welfare Reform Coalition  
305 Michigan Avenue  
Detroit, MI 48226

Development Education Center  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Diablo Valley Education Project  
50 Vashell Way, Suite 300  
Orinda, CA 94563

Diocese of Green Bay  
Department of Education  
P.O. Box 186  
Green Bay, WI 54305

Division for Latin America  
P.O. Box 6066  
1430 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Educational Research Council of America  
Rockefeller Building  
Cleveland, OH 44113

Far West Laboratory for  
Educational Research and  
Development  
1 Garden Circle  
Hotel Claremont  
Berkely, CA 94705

Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Box 271  
Nyack, NY 10960

Food Crisis Network  
4050 Lindell  
St. Louis, MO 63108

Foreign Policy Association  
345 48th Street  
New York, NY 10023

Foundation for Change  
1841 Broadway  
New York, NY 10023

Friends Committee on National  
Legislation  
245 2nd Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

Futures Conditional  
Box 1679  
Wickenburg, AZ 85358

Gandhi Peace Foundation  
223 Deen Dayal, Upadhyaya  
Marg  
New Delhi, India

Garland Library of War and  
Peace  
24 West 45th Street  
New York, NY 10036

Green Circle Program  
1515 Cherry Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Health Policy Advisory Center  
17 Murray Street  
New York, NY 10007

or  
558 Capp Street  
San Francisco, CA 94110

Indo-China Curriculum Group  
11 Garden Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138

Institute for Meditation and  
Conflict Resolution  
49 E. 68th Street  
New York, NY 10021

Institute of Social Relations  
Archdiocese of Newark  
300 Broadway  
Newark, NJ 07104

Institute for World Order  
1140 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10036

Interact  
P.O. Box 262  
Lakeside, CA 92040

Interreligious Task Force on  
U.S. Food Policy  
110 Maryland Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

Jane Addams Peace Association  
1213 Race Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Jewish Peace Fellowship  
Box 271  
Nyack, NY 10969

Justice and Peace Center  
3900 N. 3rd Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53212

Justice Education Materials  
701 E. Columbia Avenue  
Cincinnati, OH 45215

Juvenile Detention Center  
Kirkwood Police Department  
Kirkwood, MO

Latin American Newsletters  
432 Park Avenue South  
New York, NY 10016

Law, Education, and Partici-  
pation  
Forest Park Community College  
5600 Oakland  
St. Louis, MO

Lead Poison Control Service  
1220 Carr Lane  
St. Louis, MO 63104

Maryknoll  
110 Charles Street  
Hingham, MA 02043

Maryknoll Fathers  
Maryknoll, NY 10545

Medical Commission for Human  
Rights  
710 S. Marshfield  
Chicago, IL 60612

Mershon Center  
Ohio State University  
199 West 10th Avenue  
Columbus, OH 43201

Missouri Association for Social  
Welfare  
113 B. West High St.  
Jefferson City, MO 65101

Missouri Catholic Conference  
P.O. Box 1022  
Jefferson City, MO 65101

Missouri Commission on the Status  
of Women  
507 East Capitol Avenue  
Jefferson City, MO 65101

Movement for a New Society  
4719 Cedar Avenue  
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Movement for Economic Justice  
1611 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009

National Action Research on  
Military-Industrial Complex  
112 S. 16th St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19102

National Association for the  
Advancement of Humane Edu-  
cation  
1604 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20006

National Catholic Conference  
on Interracial Justice  
1307 S. Wabash  
Chicago, IL 60605

National Council of Churches  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, NY 10027

National Foundation for the  
Improvement of Education  
Suite 918  
1156--15th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

National Welfare Rights Or-  
ganization  
1419 H Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Network  
224 D Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003

Nebraska Curriculum Development  
Center  
Andrews Hall  
University of Nebraska  
Lincoln, Neb. 68508

North American Congress on  
Latin America (NACLA)  
Box 57, Cathedral Station  
New York, NY 10025

Oxfam Network  
1028 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Overseas Development Council  
Ms. Jane Millar Wood  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Peacemakers  
20208 Sylvan Avenue  
Cincinnati, OH 45241

Peace Research Laboratory  
Dr. Theodore Lentz  
6251 San Bonita Avenue  
St. Louis, MO 63105

People's Bicentennial Commis-  
sion  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Room 1025  
Washington, DC 20036

Pax Christi  
c/o Joe Fahey  
Pacem in Terris Institute  
Manhattan College  
Bromx, NY 10471

Philadelphia Life Center of  
MNS  
4719 Cedar  
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Pontifical Commission on  
Justice and Peace  
Piazza S. Calisto 16  
Roma Trastevere, Italia

Proud, Inc.  
2953 Martin Luther King Drive  
St. Louis, MO 63106

Quaker Project on Community  
Conflict  
133 W. 14th Street  
New York, NY 10011

SANE  
318 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20002

Scholastic Magazine and Book  
Service Inc.  
900 Sylvan Avenue  
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632

Shakertown Pledge Group  
W. 44th Street at York  
Avenue South  
Minneapolis, MN 55410

Shalom Curriculum  
United Church Board of Homeland  
Ministries  
Division of Publication  
1505 Race Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Simile II  
P.O. Box 1023  
La Jolla, CA 92037

State Education Department  
Center for International  
Programs and Comparative  
Studies  
Albany, NY 12224

Stockholm International Peace  
Research Institute (SIPRI)  
Sveavagen 166  
S - 113 46 Stockholm  
Sweden

Student Advisory Committee on  
International Affairs  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Third World Awareness, A Jesuit  
Project  
5430 S. University  
Chicago, IL 60615

Tirh World First Group  
3 W 1, Britwell Salome  
N. Watlington  
Oxon, England

Third World Reader Service  
1500 Farragut St., NW  
Washington, DC 20011

UNESCO Publications Center  
317 E. 34th Street  
New York, NY 10016

UN Development Program  
UN Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

United Farm Workers  
P.O. Box 62  
Keene, CA 93531

The United Nations Association  
of the USA  
833 United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

The United Nations Association  
of St. Louis  
704 DeMun  
St. Louis, MO

US Arms and Disarmament Agency  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20451

US Catholic Conference  
Office of International Justice  
and Peace  
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

US Committee for UNICEF  
331 E. 38th Street  
New York, NY 10016

US Government Printing Office  
Washington, DC 20402

University City Black Studies  
Program  
725 Kingsland Avenue  
University City, MO 63130

War Resisters' League  
Kansas City Office  
306 W. 39th Street  
Kansas City, MO 64111

War Tax Resistance  
339 Lafayette Street  
New York, NY 10012  
(also offices in KC, Chicago, etc.)

WIN  
Box 547  
Rifton, NY 12471

Women's International League  
for Peace and Freedom  
1 North 13th Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Women on Words and Images  
P.O. Box 2163  
Princeton, NJ 08540

World Affairs Council of  
Philadelphia  
John Wanamaker Store  
13th and Market  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

World Without War Council  
1730 Grove Street  
Berkeley, CA 94709  
or  
7245 S. Merrill  
Chicago, IL 60649

World Federalists  
8894 Berkey Avenue  
Jennings, MO 63136

World Federalists Youth USA  
2029 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20006

The World Future Society  
P.O. Box 30369  
Washington, DC 20014